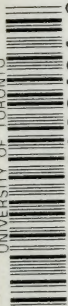


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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IT is difficult to write a short history of the Stuart period for two reasons. The first is that there is such a vast amount of material at hand that time and brain-power fail in one's effort to digest it : one feels that it is not honest to judge without hearing all the evidence, and yet there is more to be read than can be mastered by any but a scholar who devotes his whole life to the subject ; and even of the small part of the whole that one has been able to read, one is obliged to leave out so much that the fear is always pressing that the final result does not arrive at the truth. But a small book is only meant to open up an interest in, and further study of, the subject, and the inevitable omissions and unintentional misrepresentations of this little volume can be corrected by a reference to the larger works from which it has been compiled. Of these the chief are :

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Besides these works there is the rich literature of the time giving us an insight into the inner life and showing us what manner of men those were who made the great history of the seventeenth century. We go to Shakespeare for a picture of life in its fulness at the outset of our period; to Bacon, Selden, Milton, Hobbes and Filmer for political thought; to Milton, Bunyan, Baxter for the religious aspirations of the Puritans; and to George Herbert, Jeremy Taylor, Crawshaw, Vaughan for those of the Churchmen; while Dryden's poems are all inspired by the political and religious controversies of the day.

The other reason which has made this little book difficult to write is that the key to the history of the seventeenth century is a controversy which is as fresh to-day as it was then : and no history of the time can be written without rousing emotions and challenging convictions which lie at the root of our religious and political opinions. Nor does this book pretend to be the outcome of such an impartial view as might be reached by indifference to the questions at issue : but to view facts from one point of view is a very different thing from distorting facts to fit that view, and the writer claims only to have done her utmost to set forth truth, so far as she has been able to see it, and to have learnt the need of Cromwell's passionate appeal to the assembly at Edinburgh : 'I beseech you, by the mercies of God, to believe that you may be mistaken.'

H. L. P.

LEEDS,

*November, 1902.*

# CONTENTS

## JAMES I.—JAMES II.

	PAGE
GENERAL PREFACE - - - - -	v
AUTHOR'S PREFACE - - - - -	vii

### LIVES OF—

JAMES I., 'THE STUART HEIR OF TUDOR DIFFICULTIES'	1
BUCKINGHAM, THE FAVOURITE - - - -	19
ELIOT, THE ENTHUSIAST - - - -	28
WENTWORTH, THE STATESMAN - - - -	35
PYM, THE LEADER OF OPPOSITION - - -	47
LAUD, THE ECCLESIASTIC - - - -	57
FALKLAND, THE PHILOSOPHER - - - -	69
CHARLES I., 'THE KING BY DIVINE RIGHT' - -	76
OLIVER CROMWELL, THE INDEPENDENT - - -	96
CLARENDON, THE FAITHFUL SERVANT - - -	116
BAXTER, THE NONCONFORMIST - - - -	122
CHARLES II., THE RESTORED KING - - - -	131
SHAFTESBURY, 'THE DARING PILOT IN EXTREMITY'	146
JAMES II., THE PAPIST KING - - - -	157
BISHOP KEN, THE LOYAL REBEL - - - -	168



	PAGE
TABLE SHOWING DESCENT OF STUART KINGS - -	176
SUMMARY OF THE STUART PERIOD - -	177
SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE STUART PARLIAMENTS	181
EVENTS OF THE CIVIL WAR - - -	185
SOME LEADING MEN UNDER THE STUARTS - -	186
INDEX - - - - -	190

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Henry, Prince of Wales - - - - -	17
The Duke of Buckingham - - - - -	20
Earl of Strafford - - - - -	36
Westminster - - - - -	53
William Laud - - - - -	59
The Archbishop's Chair - - - - -	60
The Library of St. John's College, Oxford - - -	65
Lambeth House - - - - -	67
Lord Falkland - - - - -	69
Charles I. - - - - -	77
Henriette Marie R. - - - - -	79
'The English and Scotts Armies, at first ready to fight, lovingly embrace each other, & part kinde friends' -	81
Prince Rupert - - - - -	85
Map - - - - -	87
Carisbrooke Castle - - - - -	90
Whitehall - - - - -	93
Oliver Cromwell - - - - -	97
Horseman - - - - -	99
Musketeer - - - - -	103
Pikeman - - - - -	104

Cannon	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Slip of the Period	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Richard Baxter	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Milton	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Charles II.	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Country Woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Merchant's Wife of London	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Shakespeare	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
John Locke	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
The Five Children of Charles I.	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Isling Kew	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Wells Cathedral	-	-	-	-	-	-	100

# HISTORY IN BIOGRAPHY

## JAMES I., THE STUART HEIR OF TUDOR DIFFICULTIES.

THE seventeenth century, the age of the Stuarts, presents a very marked contrast to the sixteenth, the age of the Tudors. The change from Tudor to Stuart, which came at the very beginning of the century, was a much greater change than is usual when one King gives place to another. For generally the new King is the son of the last one, and knows and is known by his subjects. But the Stuarts, whose claim to the throne came from Henry VII., the grandfather of the last Tudor monarch, and who came from Scotland, differed widely in character and disposition from their predecessors, and had lived in very different relation to their subjects.

This contrast in the personal character of the monarch was of very great importance in its effect on the history of the time. The Tudors had been extraordinarily successful rulers, understanding the character of the nation with which they had to deal, and, possessing themselves some of the leading qualities of the English character—a strong will, sturdy common-sense, and great practical ability—they had had their own way in government chiefly because they and the people desired the

same thing, and the nation had therefore been content to be led, without caring to ask whether the King were not taking upon himself undue authority; and the fact that the Tudors had great tact in realizing when it was wise to give way, and had no scruples of conscience to prevent them throwing the blame of any unpopular acts upon their Ministers, made them able to keep to the last the affection and loyalty of their subjects.

But the Stuarts were strikingly wanting in most of the qualities which had made the Tudor rule successful, and their virtues as well as their faults involved them in difficulties. Almost as strong-willed as the Tudors, with a determination often perverted to obstinacy, but generally the result of conscientious conviction, they never understood their people, and often yielded when it would have been wiser to stand firm, or persisted when to give way would have conciliated their opponents without sacrificing what was right. Where the Tudors were bluff and genial, the Stuarts were dignified and reserved, and so, while the former often succeeded in giving an impression of candour when they were really practising double dealing, the latter often gained credit for deception when their purpose was quite single. In some ways in advance of their people in political, social, and religious ideals, they never succeeded in establishing that sympathy with the people by which they could have drawn them to share in their aims.

Of course, the family characteristics were not all present or equally strong in each individual. While James I. was wanting in the Stuart dignity and refinement, and Charles II. in religious conviction, the former had a shrewdness and the latter a tact and practical wisdom which were wanting in other

members of the family. But, speaking broadly, the Stuarts may be contrasted with the Tudors as being more religious, more conscientious, more refined, less practical, less able to lead and inspire confidence, less able 'to be or to be made great.'

But the personal character of the monarch is never enough to explain the whole history of a nation at any given time. If the Tudor race had survived to reign during the seventeenth century, we may safely say that the harmony between the King and the nation would not have lasted, though it is probable that no Tudor monarch would have lost his head in the contest. Causes had been long at work in the English nation, which were silently preparing for the struggle that marks the seventeenth century. Even before Elizabeth's death signs of the coming storm might be observed. Remonstrances, becoming always louder, against royal interference with trade in the matter of monopolies, and, still more important, remonstrances coming from Parliament on the question of religion, were signs that the nation was beginning to resent the abuse of royal authority, though respect for the age and sex of Elizabeth, and affection for her person, might make most men willing to wait until her death for definite resistance to the royal authority. The England over which James Stuart came to reign was very different from the England which had enthusiastically followed the lead of the Tudors. The national spirit which had been roused under their rule and encouraged by their policy was sure in time to turn round and offer resistance to arbitrary power; the very success and prosperity which Elizabeth's rule had brought to the nation encouraged a spirit of independence, which grew stronger under the Stuarts as trade increased,



bringing with it wealth and power to the middle classes, and as education was encouraged both in schools and universities. It is as if England under the Tudors had been in her boyhood, needing control and guidance, and willing to submit to it, but now under the Stuarts was growing to manhood, and claimed the right to think for herself and to throw off control.

It was chiefly in matters of religion that this dislike of control showed itself. The Reformation movement had been a refusal to allow the clergy to tyrannize over men's consciences; the Tudor Kings had put their own command in the place of this tyranny, and had given orders from the throne as to what their subjects were to believe. In resistance to this, men began to refuse to listen to any authority and claim the right not only to choose their own belief, but to impose it upon the rest of their fellow-subjects, and the Puritans, who formed the majority in the House of Commons, demanded changes in the faith and worship of the Church, to 'purify' it, as they thought, from error, and did not see that in doing this they were claiming the right, in their turn, to dictate the faith of the nation.

The Stuart Kings, who were firm supporters of the Church, claimed to speak with as absolute authority as the Tudors had done, and so the great struggle between the King and Parliament in the seventeenth century turned on the matter of religion, which involved that of the independence of Parliament, since it reduced itself to the question as to whether King or Parliament was to have the last word in regard to religion. It is true that the struggle often seems to be merely about taxation, for the House of Commons, having no power to alter the laws or religion without the King, tried to force him to yield to their demands by refusing to grant

taxes; the King, rather than give way on religion, tried to govern without a Parliament, and to get money in other ways, in which he seemed to be attacking the liberty of the subject, and so provoked many who were not Puritans to join in the resistance to him.

The struggle could only end in a civil war, since men on both sides were convinced of the importance of religion, sure of being in the right, and ready to die rather than give way. While we must regret the narrowness and bitterness of a conflict in which, with few exceptions, the men on neither side could allow that there was any right on the other, and in which each party wished to impose their view upon the other, it is impossible not to be proud of Englishmen who were too earnest to feel that kind of toleration which allows men to settle down comfortably and selfishly in their own opinions without troubling themselves as to their neighbours, even though the nation as a body was not yet ripe for that higher kind of toleration which respects the conscience of the individual too much to wish to force conviction upon it. When the struggle seemed to end in the triumph of the Puritan party and the execution of the King, it was only to begin again between different parties of the victors, and England had to learn that in calling in the sword to determine her quarrel she had brought herself into subjection to the rule of the soldier, and, far from having gained freedom by shaking off Church and King, she had put herself under a heavier yoke, and the result was the restoration of the Stuart line, with a far stronger hold on the throne, while the nation clung to the Church even more firmly than to the restored monarchy.

It would seem from this that the history of the Stuart

time is nothing but the swing of the pendulum, first away from, then back to, kingly rule; but if we look more closely we shall see real progress. Parliament had failed to make itself supreme; Puritanism had been tried and rejected by the nation; but England had learned that men's consciences could not be forced in matters of religion, and Parliament had gained its proper place in the government of the nation, while the Church and the Monarchy had been purified and so strengthened by the struggle.

For thence, a paradox  
Which comforts while it mocks,  
Shall life succeed in that it seem to fail ?

James I. came to England expecting to find in it a haven of rest. His had been so far a troubled life. Born a few months after his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, had been outraged by the murder, almost in her presence, of her servant, Rizzio, by the order of her husband Darnley, James had passed his childhood amid the storm of rebellion which soon followed; and while his mother was being imprisoned, forced to abdicate in his favour, and driven to take refuge in England, the possession of the 'Infant' was one of the chief advantages in the hands of the rebel lords. He was crowned with due ceremony when scarcely one year old, and the country was governed during his minority by a succession of Regents, beginning with his uncle, the Earl of Murray, who was soon murdered; and at last, when James was only fourteen, the unpopular Regent, Morton, was obliged to give up to him the 'regiment' of the kingdom. James' education had been entrusted from his fourth year to George Buchanan, one of the finest scholars in Europe, to

whom he proved himself an apt pupil; but his ability and learning were not enough to enable him to manage at so early an age the wild Scotch nobles, always at feud among themselves, and divided by religious differences as well as ambition. James excited their jealousy by the confidence which he placed in his cousin Esmé Stuart, whom he made Duke of Lennox, and the Earl of Arran, by whose influence he was induced to allow the trial and execution of Earl Morton. The indignation of the nobles found expression in the 'Raid of Ruthven,' in which they seized the King and forced him to give up his favourites. Within a year James escaped from the captivity in which he was being kept, and restored Arran for a time to his position; but the jealousy of the nobles was too much for him, and Arran had to be banished.

The execution of his mother was not resented strongly by James in anything but words, and English influence prevailed at the Scotch Court to keep in power the nobles who were in favour of the Reformation in its Scotch form of Presbyterianism, though the Roman Catholic lords kept the country in a constant state of disturbance, till at last they openly rebelled, were overcome by the royal forces, and driven into exile. James now had difficulty with the Presbyterian clergy, who, never quite sure of James's attachment to Presbyterianism, complained that he had been too lenient to the Popish lords. One of them went so far as to proclaim in the pulpit that kings were 'devil's bairns,' while another, Andrew Melville, plucked James by the sleeve, calling him 'God's silly vassal,' and reminded him that 'in this land of Scotland there are two kingdoms, in one of which King James is only a subject!'

No wonder that James should have been convinced of the truth of the maxim, 'No Bishop, no King,' and that the death of Elizabeth should be welcomed by him as an opportunity for freeing himself from the yoke of Presbyterianism.

His accession was received with satisfaction in England, for his right by descent was unquestioned, and the Wars of the Roses were still fresh enough in the minds of the people to make them dread any interference with the hereditary succession. Moreover, Elizabeth's wishes were well known. 'My seat hath been the seat of kings, and I will have no rascal to succeed me,' she had said, and had made it plain that she wished her successor to be her 'cousin of Scotland.' Two wild plots, however, called the 'Main' and the 'Bye,' were set on foot, chiefly by Roman Catholics, though Sir W. Raleigh was also implicated; but they gained no support, and were easily suppressed.

Ready as the nation was to receive James as King on account of his right of descent, there was much in his person to repel them. Ungainly in appearance, with a tongue too long for his mouth, with a strong Scotch accent, slovenly in dress, and undignified in manner, he had, moreover, a habit of boasting, which the English people felt to be unworthy of a King; he was lacking in personal courage, and his want of tact in showing openly his preference for Scotchmen about his person did not tend to endear him to his new subjects.

Two great difficulties awaited James, the one connected with religion, the other with money.

Elizabeth's religious settlement had been disliked by two parties, both of which were waiting and hoping for a change at her death. The Roman Catholics hoped much from a son of Mary Queen of Scots: the Puritans

from the King of Presbyterian Scotland. Both were disappointed. The Roman Catholics might have found great relief from James, who disliked religious intolerance, and would have been willing to allow them to live quietly in the exercise of their own religion: but they made this impossible by provoking the suspicions of the nation by their wild 'Gunpowder Plot,' which has ever since had a place in the memory and imagination of Englishmen quite out of proportion to its importance. The plot was formed by some Roman Catholic gentlemen, among whom the leaders were Robert Catesby and Sir Everard Digby, to blow up the Houses of Parliament with gunpowder on the occasion of the King and Queen being there at the opening of Parliament, and to carry off the little Princess Elizabeth and bring her up as a Roman Catholic Queen. They employed a Spanish soldier, Guido Fawkes, to carry out their plan, filling vaults, which they had hired under the Houses of Parliament, with barrels of gunpowder, which were to be fired at the proper time. The postponement of the opening of Parliament gave time for one of the conspirators to relent, and to write to a relative, Lord Monteagle, a letter of warning, by which the plot was discovered, and Fawkes and some of the conspirators were arrested and punished with death.

The immediate consequence was the passing of stricter laws against Roman Catholics; the more lasting results were a deep-seated and exaggerated distrust of Roman Catholics as possible traitors, which even to our own day is the cause of much prejudice to them.

The Puritans were still more disappointed. James had learnt by painful experience the truth of the saying 'No Bishop, no King.' Where the Presbyterian clergy



were in power, the King was not supreme, and James had been looking forward to coming to England to be freed from their control. So, although in reply to the 'Millenary Petition' he granted the Puritans an opportunity in the Hampton Court Conference to set forth their complaints, yet when he saw that the system of Church government which they desired was much the same as that under which he had fretted in Scotland, he refused rudely and impatiently to listen any longer to their demands. But the Puritans were strong in the House of Commons, and there a steady attempt was made to introduce changes in the Prayer-Book which would 'purify' the doctrine of the Church, and alter the discipline.

The money difficulty was, all through the reigns of James and his son, closely connected with the religious grievance. If the Commons could not have their own way about religion, they could at least enforce attention to their wishes by refusing to grant supplies. But in any case there was need for a rearrangement of the revenue. The country was becoming richer and richer and the Crown poorer and poorer, because the taxation had not been rearranged since old days in which the chief wealth of England did not lie, as it now did, in her trade. Elizabeth, with no family and strict economy, had found it very difficult to keep within her income: James, with several children and extravagant habits, found it impossible.

Both these difficulties might have been successfully met if James had been wise and tactful. But though a shrewd and learned man, he had that kind of stupidity which comes from conceit, which makes a man entirely unable to judge truly in any case which seems to touch his own dignity, and which makes him blind to great-

ness in other men, and unwilling to take advice. He had for a minister one of the wisest of Englishmen, Lord Bacon, but he never would be led by him. Bacon wished him to use Parliament; to make it a profitable servant in the Government of the country, employing it in making laws and redressing grievances. There was much work to be done, and the healthy employment would take away all bitterness and opposition. James, however, would see in Parliament nothing but a disagreeable restraint on his power, and, though he talked much of his dignity, he failed to act upon it, and condescended to bargain with the Commons, promising to redress grievances if they would grant money, whereas it belonged to his dignity to show himself at least as anxious to remove grievances as any of his subjects could be. Failing to obtain money from Parliament, he had recourse to 'impositions' or duties on imported goods, which, though declared legal by the judges, yet caused irritation which a wise King would have avoided. His minister Cecil, finding it impossible to keep pace with the King's expenditure, formed a plan known as the 'Great Contract' by which the King was to give up impositions and certain old feudal rights in return for a large fixed sum from Parliament, which would have made him independent of Parliamentary grants for the rest of his reign. The scheme came to nothing because James took offence at the Commons' expression of opinion on religious matters, and dissolved Parliament. From this time till 1621 he went without a Parliament, except for one in 1614 known as the 'Addled Parliament' because it did nothing.

During these ten years Bacon bent his great intellect to form plans by which to increase the ordinary revenue, and so skilful was he in levying duties on flourishing

trade, and reviving old statutes, that he obtained quite a large enough revenue for the King's reasonable expenditure in time of peace. He knew it was not the right or wise course, and he brought down upon himself a popular hatred which, when Parliament at last met, found expression in an attack upon Bacon as responsible for the abuses and corruption of the judges, which he not only had not put down, but had encouraged by his own careless habit of receiving presents which were meant as bribes, although he never allowed them to bias his judgment; for which neglect he was degraded from his office of Lord Chancellor.

James used Bacon, but he gave his confidence to unworthy favourites. The first of these was Robert Carr, a Scotchman, who was made Earl of Somerset and who soon disgraced himself and his master by taking part in a murder. The second was George Villiers, whose influence over James roused the jealousy of his courtiers, while grave men were shocked at the undignified way in which James publicly fondled his favourite and made a show of his sentimental affection.

The income raised by the efforts of Bacon and the Lord Treasurer Cranfield was sufficient for peaceful times, but in 1621 James found himself obliged to call his third Parliament, because war had broken out in Europe.

Throughout his reign James had aimed at peace, which he thought could best be obtained by keeping on friendly terms with Spain: for as Spain was the leading Roman Catholic and England the chief Protestant power in Europe, there could be no religious wars if these two were determined on peace. With this in view James had been for years trying to bring about a

marriage between the Infanta of Spain and his son—first Prince Henry, and on his death in 1612, Prince Charles. The difference in religion really made the plan impossible, but the Spaniards had been willing to play with the scheme to keep England quiet. James was wise in his desire for peace: England was no longer in danger from Spain, and the two nations could only exhaust themselves by keeping on the war: but this policy was most distasteful to the nation, who had looked upon war with Spain as the only natural and wholesome thing for England since the days of the Armada. They could not be persuaded that Spain was no longer trying to overturn the Reformation in England, and their desire for plunder, their love of adventure, and their national pride all found satisfaction in expeditions against Spanish ships on the high seas. In James' desire to marry his son to a Roman Catholic they thought they saw a leaning towards Roman teaching, and their fears were strengthened when Sir Walter Raleigh was put to death in 1618, nominally for his share in a plot at the beginning of the reign, but really, as all men knew, because Spain had complained of an attack on a Spanish town in South America, which he made while on a piratical expedition thither. This exaggerated dread of Spain was foolish and ignorant, but James had no right to complain of being misunderstood, as he never troubled to explain his more enlightened views to the Commons, but treated them as a body whose business it was to vote money without asking questions.

The long peace was at last broken in 1618, by James' son-in-law, Frederick the Protestant Elector Palatine, ruling over the Rhine valley in Germany, who, trusting to the support of James, most unwisely accepted the

invitation of the Bohemians to become their King, and thereby opened a war between the Roman Catholic and Protestant powers of Europe which lasted for thirty years. James was in a difficult position: he hated war; he disapproved of his son-in-law's action; he knew that the combined Roman Catholic powers of Europe would be too much for Frederick alone, and yet the English nation was at once eager to support the Protestant Frederick against the Roman Catholic Emperor and Spain. Probably the wisest thing for James to have done would have been to call a Parliament, frankly explain the difficulties of the case, and ask for a large sum of money to provide an army to maintain Frederick in his own dominions, on condition that he would give up Bohemia, to which he had no right. The Emperor and Spain could not have afforded to disregard a united England prepared for war, and would probably have listened to terms of peace. Instead of this, James trusted to his skill in diplomacy to put an end to the war, vainly hoping that the offer of his son as a match for the Spanish princess would be enough to make Spain withdraw from it. But the Emperor and Spain encouraged James to go on talking while they went on fighting; and when the Commons saw Frederick driven out of his dominions by the very power with which James was arranging a marriage treaty, while no explanation of this policy was offered to them, they showed their utter distrust of James by petitioning him to marry his son to a Protestant lady. James replied angrily that they had no right to discuss his foreign policy, adding that 'the difference is no greater than if we would tell a merchant that we had great need to borrow money of him for raising an army, and that thereupon it could follow that we were bound to

follow his advice in the direction of the war and all things depending thereon.'

The argument was entirely false: the Commons were not asked to *lend* but to *give*, and the war and all that it involved concerned them quite as much as the King, who in all that he did was only the representative of the nation and the trustee of its riches. The Commons replied gravely and truly 'that the liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdiction of Parliament are the undoubted birthright and inheritance of the people of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, State and Defence of the Realm and of the Church of England . . . are proper subjects and matter of debate in Parliament.' This 'Protest' the King tore out of the journals of the House in childish anger: and the four members who presented it were imprisoned. This made any joint action between King and Parliament impossible, and to the end of James' reign we see the two forces acting in entirely different directions: the Commons clamouring for war and yet refusing to grant sufficient supplies, partly out of ignorance as to the amount of money needed to carry on a European war, partly out of fear of trusting James with any large sums lest they should be used against the Protestant interest. It was true that Elizabeth had never consulted her Parliament as to the conduct of a war, but the nation understood and approved of her policy, and was ready to trust her as to details: it was James' own fault if his policy was not understood and he was not trusted. In Elizabeth's time war had been carried on economically, almost in pirate fashion: ships had been fitted out by private persons, and had been used to attack Spanish ships on the high seas, and had come home laden with booty.



James rightly disapproved of this kind of warfare, and moreover it was not the way in which Frederick could be helped. But instead of explaining this, he spent the small sum which the Commons granted for a fleet, on a wretchedly equipped army, which was of little use to Frederick and lowered the reputation of England in Europe. When James died in 1625 he left his son the inheritance of a European war, an empty treasury, and the distrust of the nation.

James was a kind husband and father, honest and well-intentioned, sincerely anxious for the good of his people. In his desire for toleration, his perception of the need of a peace policy and his plan for uniting England and Scotland he was in advance of his time; but it is useless for a King to be in advance of his people unless he has the power of drawing them with him. That power in which the Tudors had been so rich, was entirely wanting in James, who, wise in his own conceit, never tried to get into touch with his people, and won for himself the title of 'the wisest fool in Christendom.'

*From 'Basilikon Doron, or King James' Instruction to his  
Dearest Son Henry the Prince.*

'For the part of making and executing the lawes consider first the true difference between a laweful good King and an usurping tyrant, and ye shall the more easily understand your dutie herein; for *contraria juxta se posita magis clucescunt*. The one acknowledgeth himself ordained for his people, having received from God a burthen of government whereof he must be countable: the other thinketh his people ordained for him, a pray to his passions and inordinate appetites, as the fruites of



*[Walker and Cockerell.]*

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

*(From the painting by Paul Van Somer.)*

his magnanimitie. And therefore as their ends are directlie contrarie so are their whole actions as means whereby they preass to attaine to their ends: a good King, thinking his highest honour to consist in the due discharge of his calling, employeth all his studie and paines to procure and maintaine by the making and execution of good lawes, the welfare and peace of his people; and as their natural father and kindly maister, thinketh his greatest contentment standeth in their prosperity, and his greatest suretie in having their hearts, subjecting his owne private affections and appetites to the weale and standing of his subjects, ever thinking the common interesse his chiefest particular; wher by the contrarie an usurping tyrant, thinking his greatest honour and felicitie to consist in attaining *per fas vel nefas* to his ambitious pretenses, thinketh never himselfe sure but by the dissention and factions among his people, and counterfeiting the Saint while he once creepe in credit, will then (by inverting all lawes to serve onely for his unrulie private affections) frame the common weale ever to advance his particular: building his suretie upon his people's miserie; and in the true end, (as a step-father and an uncouth hireling) make up his owne hand upon the ruines of the Republicke.'

## BUCKINGHAM, THE FAVOURITE.

GEORGE VILLIERS, the younger son of a family of no great rank or distinction, owed his promotion to the highest position in the State to his handsome person and attractive manners and to the weakness of King James, who, says Clarendon, 'of all wise men living was the most delighted and taken with handsome persons and fine clothes.' He was brought before the King's notice by the leading men at Court in opposition to Somerset, on whose disgrace James easily transferred his favour and affection, with even more extravagance, to Villiers, whom he made in succession Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Knight of the Garter, Baron, Viscount, Earl, Marquis, Duke, Lord High Admiral and Warden of the Cinque Ports, and the dispenser of all favours and offices. It soon came to be known that anyone who wanted anything from the King must first win the good graces of his favourite.

There was much more in Buckingham than in Somerset to deserve such favour. Of a nature frank, affectionate, and generous, hating anything mean and sordid, he won the affection of greater men than James, of Archbishop Laud and Sir John Eliot. But it needs a very strong and noble nature to bear so sudden a rise and such unlimited power without losing balance, and the natural result was to make Buckingham headstrong and insolent. His consciousness of power was not



*[Walker and Cockerell.]*

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

checked by a sense of responsibility : the court paid to him by all around gave him an over-weening self-confidence which was destined to work great harm to England. This fault would have been comparatively unimportant if Buckingham had not held a high political position. Elizabeth had had her Leicester, but all affairs of State were entrusted to Burleigh ; Buckingham was Leicester and Burleigh rolled into one. With none of the qualities of a statesman, he was put into a position of power and responsibility such as few statesmen have ever held in England : and thus it is that Buckingham did more harm to England than many a less well-intentioned man might have done.

Partly out of a love of adventure, he fired the romantic imagination of Prince Charles, then only nineteen, with a desire to go to Spain and do his love-making to the Spanish Infanta himself. James was acute enough to see the danger and folly of letting the heir to the throne put himself into the hands of a not very friendly power, but was too weak to resist the combined entreaties of his favourite and his son ; and the two set out in disguise for Spain. Here they were made the sport of Spanish diplomacy. Buckingham was too conceited and too inexperienced to see that in every point he was being outwitted by Olivarez, the Spanish minister. His insolent manner offended the grave Spanish decorum : without meaning to be dishonest, he committed himself and James to promises which they could never perform, and finally, after several months, during which Charles' love-making had not prospered, since he was never allowed to see his bride-elect except in state ceremonies, Buckingham realized that the Spanish King had never really contemplated the marriage, and had only been playing with him. Indignant at being



thus treated, Charles and Buckingham returned home eager for war with Spain, to the distress of the King and the joy of the nation.

Buckingham now became for a time a popular hero, and with characteristic levity, he threw his whole soul into projects of war against Spain. This popularity however was short-lived. The Commons had not knowledge enough to be able to judge of the needs of the foreign situation. Willing to help Frederick against Spain, and ignoring the fact that Spain was not the only enemy to be considered, they thought it could be done by attacking Spain by sea in the old Elizabethan way, and granted money for a fleet. James and Buckingham knew that what was needed was an army to help Frederick's German allies to repel the invasion of his lands: but the sum which was sufficient to provide a fleet was far short of that needed to equip an army, and when the small and wretchedly provided expedition sent to Frederick's help proved a miserable failure, the Commons threw the whole blame upon Buckingham. Moreover, when Buckingham went to Paris to bring home the Roman Catholic princess Henrietta Maria as a bride for Charles, the Commons thought they saw in it the same Romanizing influence which had tried to bring about the Spanish match; so when Charles, on coming to the throne, called a Parliament to grant money for the war, he was met by a request that he would appoint a minister in whom Parliament had confidence, and would put in force the laws against Roman Catholics. Charles resented this attack on his friend and haughtily dissolved the Parliament.

Now Buckingham bent his whole energies to achieve some success that should win back for him popularity

and support. He was always quite sure that what he had set his heart upon was bound to succeed, and was never taught by failure; so with a light heart he prepared an expedition against Cadiz which was to rival in its brilliant success the famous expeditions of Raleigh and Essex under Elizabeth. But the genius of Raleigh and Essex was wanting; and the scheme resulted in utter ruin and provoked derision and distrust in the nation. Buckingham next formed an alliance with France in support of Frederick; for France, though Roman Catholic at home, was always ready to take the Protestant side abroad, out of enmity to Spain. Unfortunately the Protestants in France were not mindful of the sufferings of the German Protestants, and took this opportunity to rise against the Government to obtain political rights in addition to the religious freedom which they already enjoyed. The French minister, Richelieu, who felt he could not stir in the war against Spain while rebellion was going on at home, laid siege to the Protestants in La Rochelle, and used for the purpose some ships which had been lent to him by Charles for war against Spain. This, of course, when it was known in England, at once revived the suspicion that Charles and Buckingham were secretly in sympathy with Roman Catholics. It was of no use for Buckingham to declare that the ships had been so used without his orders—the nation simply did not believe him; and the indignation found expression in Parliament, where Sir John Eliot moved that Buckingham should be impeached. Impeachment, by which the Commons bring charges against a minister to be tried by the House of Lords, was an old right of the Commons which had fallen into disuse under the Tudors, and Buckingham had lately revived it against

Middlesex, a minister who had opposed his plans against Spain, in spite of James' warning that he was 'preparing a rod for his own back.' This right of impeachment secured to the House of Commons control over incapable and unrighteous ministers, and if the leaders of the charge had confined themselves to the facts of Buckingham's incapacity and mismanagement they would have had a strong case against him. Unfortunately they were carried by feeling beyond their power of judgment, and attacked Buckingham on absurd charges, such as that of having poisoned King James; and compared him with Sejanus, a notoriously wicked statesman, rather than with some hopelessly incompetent one. Such charges, if tried, could only have resulted in Buckingham's acquittal, and Charles would have been wise to have let the trial take its course. But, for good or evil, Charles stood by his friends, and dissolved Parliament without having received a grant of money.

Now again Charles and Buckingham were thrown on their own resources, and Buckingham made one desperate bid for popularity by taking up the cause of the French Protestants. Money was collected from every possible source: forced loans were levied on the rich, men were pressed into service, Charles pawned his jewels, Buckingham sold almost all his possessions, and an expedition was fitted up to relieve the Protestants in La Rochelle. It was a foolish undertaking: to encourage the rebellion was to hinder help being sent to Frederick, for the French Government was determined to put down its own rebellious subjects, and Buckingham could do nothing against the determined efforts of the French attacking force. The attempt ended in a complete failure and the sense of

national disgrace stung into greater activity the opposition to Buckingham. Again Charles called a Parliament, thinking that it would surely vote money to retrieve the national honour, and to relieve oppressed Protestants. But men of very different ways of thinking in general were all agreed that Buckingham was the one obstacle to good government, and though Charles obtained a grant for the war in return for concessions he was driven by repeated attacks on his Minister to prorogue Parliament. Buckingham was not long to remain a source of dissension between King and Parliament. The extravagant language used by Eliot against him in the House of Commons had excited the diseased imagination of a certain religious fanatic named Felton, who persuaded himself that it would be a righteous act to rid England of Buckingham. Fastening in his hat a writing containing quotations from the charges brought against Buckingham, he went down to Portsmouth, where the Duke was preparing to embark for another attempt against La Rochelle, and stabbed him in the back, causing instant death.

Buckingham had meant to serve Charles well, and had spared neither himself nor his possessions in his service, but he was not great either in character or in intellect, and the times needed great men. Compared with such giants as Eliot, Pym, and Wentworth, he was so insignificant that we are inclined to wonder how he could have done so much harm.

*(From Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion,' Bk. I.)*

‘This great man was a person of a noble nature and generous disposition, and of such other endowments as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a

great King. He understood the arts of a court, and all the learning that is professed there, exactly well. By long practice in business, under a master that discoursed excellently and surely knew all things wonderfully and took much delight in indoctrinating his young inexperienced favourite, who, he knew, would always be looked upon as the workmanship of his own hands, he had obtained a quick conception and apprehension of business, and had the habit of speaking very gracefully and pertinently. He was of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him, and so desirous to oblige them that he did not enough consider the value of the obligation or the merit of the person he chose to oblige; from which much of his misfortune resulted. He was of a courage not to be daunted, which was manifested in all his actions, and in his contests with particular persons of the greatest reputation; and especially in his whole demeanour at the Isle of Rhé, both at the landing and upon the retreat; in both which no man was more fearless or more ready to expose himself to the highest dangers. His kindness and affection to his friends was so vehement that they were as so many marriages for better and worse, and so many leagues offensive and defensive, as if he thought himself obliged to love all his friends and to make war upon all they were angry with, let the cause be what it would.

‘And it cannot be denied that he was an enemy in the same excess, and prosecuted those he looked upon as his enemies with the utmost rigour and animosity, and was not easily induced to reconciliation. And yet there were some examples of his receding in that particular. And when he was in the highest passion he was so far from stooping to any dissimulation whereby

his displeasure might be concealed and covered till he had attained his revenge (the low methods of courts), that he never endeavoured to do any man an ill office before he first told him what he was to expect from him, and reproached him with the injuries that he had done with so much generosity that the person found it in his power to receive further satisfaction in the way he would choose for himself.'



## ELIOT, THE ENTHUSIAST.

SIR JOHN ELIOT was born in 1592, of an old family which gave its name to Port Eliot in Cornwall. On leaving Oxford he studied law, and then went abroad, where he met, and formed a friendship with, George Villiers, not yet raised to a position of public importance, and the friendship bore fruit for Eliot when the favourite bestowed upon him the post of Vice-Admiral of Devon. As member for Newport in the Parliament of 1621, Eliot was ardent in his opposition to the alliance with Spain, and joined heartily with Buckingham in his desire for war. It was only very gradually that he became estranged from his friend as he realized that those things which he himself held with a burning fervour of conviction were to Buckingham simple questions of expediency. He was chosen by the members of the Opposition to offer a friendly remonstrance to Buckingham as to his demands for subsidies for the war, the grant of which they felt should be postponed to the redress of grievances, especially those concerning religion and Parliamentary privilege. The sight at Southampton of sailors returning ragged and fever-stricken from the expedition to Cadiz so worked upon Eliot's excitable temperament as to produce a violent revulsion of feeling against Buckingham, and it was he who led the impeachment and used terms so extravagant as to give some excuse for Charles' conviction that the murder of Buckingham



was to be traced to his instigation. He was imprisoned for his words, but released, after nine days, at the remonstrance of the House. In the next Parliament, being called to order by the Speaker because he insisted upon renewing his attack upon Buckingham during the debate on the Petition of Right, he remained silent for the rest of the discussion, refusing to speak unless he might 'say what was in his heart.' This is characteristic of the man: single-hearted, fervent, full of righteous zeal, and utterly convinced of the justice of his cause, he was led by his feeling rather than by reason. For example, when the judges pronounced that Tonnage and Poundage were not technically included in the taxes which had been given up by Charles when he signed the Petition of Right, Eliot only concluded that 'the Judges, the Council, the Sheriffs, the Attorney, and all, conspire to trample on the liberty of the subject.' The judges may have been wrong, but they are the constituted authority for interpreting the law in England, and when Eliot declared that if the Judges did not agree with the House of Commons the Judges must be wrong he was simply 'claiming that the House of Commons might create itself into a superior tribunal before which all ministers of State and even all courts of Justice, were bound to give way.'

In matters of religion also Eliot claimed the same high power for the House of Commons. Great discontent was felt at the way in which clergy known to be adverse to Calvinistic doctrines were promoted to Bishoprics, and still more by a Declaration put forward by Charles forbidding both sides to discuss the great question of predestination; and in 1629 the House resolved itself into a Committee on Religion, in which

Eliot claimed for the Commons the power to define the faith and to judge of the teaching of Bishops Neile and Laud, which he declared to be 'Papistical.' Books of Bishop Cosin and others were to be burnt and laws put in force against 'Popish opinions and superstitious ceremonies,' and severe punishment inflicted upon anyone who should publish anything contrary to the mind of the House of Commons of 1629. Matters reached a climax when, in March, the discussion of this question was met by the King's command to the Parliament to adjourn. The House had never before refused to adjourn when bidden, but now Eliot was determined that it should come to a conclusion on this burning question before it should be put to silence, for how long no one could tell. As the Speaker moved to leave the chair he was held down by two strong members, and the doors were locked to prevent those who disapproved of the proceedings leaving the House. In vain the Speaker protested: he was told that he was the servant of the House, not of the King, and as he sat dissolved in tears, and the King's messengers knocked at the door, the three resolutions of Eliot were read and passed, condemning as worthy of death anyone who should introduce any but 'orthodox' opinions, or who should advise the payment of, or themselves pay, Tonnage and Poundage not granted by Parliament. This 'Protestation,' as it was called, was carried with acclamation, and the House adjourned, not to meet again for eleven years.

It is important to see exactly what Eliot was claiming for the House of Commons by this action.

In every State there is a power which exists before the law, by which laws are made, and which lives on side by side with the law, to fill up its deficiencies, since

existing law cannot provide for new and exceptional cases, and to come into force when by any accident law is brought to a deadlock.

This is called the *supreme* or *sovereign power*, or the *prerogative*, and the great question is, to whom does this power belong? Where, as in England, the governing body is composite, consisting of King and Parliament, the question as to which of these powers is supreme will not arise as long as they work smoothly together. But when there is a difference, and one side must give way, it is clear that sovereign power remains with that side which does not give way. What Eliot was claiming for the House of Commons was that it should have the supreme power; that when it was opposed to the King, he must give way. There can be no doubt that in the past the supreme power had been wielded by the King. This does not, however, prove that the sovereignty must always remain with the King: perhaps the time was come when a change was needed, and it is not condemning Eliot's position to say that the law was not on his side. Law is always behind progress, and needs to be continually changed and renewed. What is strange is that Eliot, and even Hampden and Pym, men of much clearer judgment, failed to see that they were proposing anything new: they thought that they were still standing in the old ways, and weakened their position by trying to justify it by law and precedent.

It is quite another question whether Eliot's ideal or the King's tended most to the good of England; whether there was not more chance of liberty under the old order of things than there would be under the government of a House of Commons, which could in one vote narrow down the religion of England to the

system of Calvin. This was the question which had to be fought out in the Civil War.

Eliot of course knew that he would have to take the consequences of his action in regard to the 'Protestation.' When he, with eight other ringleaders, was committed to the Tower and brought to trial, he declined to answer any questions, declaring that all he had done was covered by the privilege of Parliament, which leaves members free to speak their mind in the House without fear of being called to account for it. The answer to this plea was that the privilege of Parliament does not extend to everything which individual members may choose to do; and further, that the House having been legally adjourned, all that had been done after the King's message had been received, was of the nature of a riot and done by Eliot and the others not as Members of Parliament, but as private persons. Refusing to plead, Eliot was condemned to a fine of £2,000 and imprisonment until he should confess his guilt. This of course he would not do, and, a martyr to convictions which were entirely sincere and disinterested, he remained in prison for three years. Charles was determined to punish him, not only for his political action, but for the share which he firmly believed him to have had in Buckingham's death, and even when his health failed and he petitioned for a release, Charles refused to yield.

These years of Eliot's life were spent, in a spirit of sunny cheerfulness, in correspondence with his friends and in writing a book called 'The Monarchy of Man' to explain his views on government. In this he claims for Parliament only the right which Charles had declared himself ready to allow it—the right to counsel but not control the King. 'The true duty of a Parlia-

ment' he declares to be 'to conceive and form all actions and designs, the resolution and production resting wholly with the King.' He leaves unsolved the problem of what is to happen when King and Parliament are directly opposed to each other.

His release came in November, 1637. 'Let Sir John Eliot be buried in the church of that parish where he died' was the King's harsh reply to the petition of Eliot's family that his body might be laid in the churchyard of his home.

He was perhaps the most lovable and the most simple-minded of all the heroes of this heroic age. Impetuous and often extravagant, he was not the man to guide the State, but England owes him a debt as one of those who 'feed the high tradition of the world.'

*From a Letter by Eliot in Prison to Hampden.*

'Besides the acknowledgment of your favours that have so much compassion on your friend, I have little to return you from him that has nothing worthy of your acceptance but the contestation that I have between an ill body and the aer, that quarrell and are friends as the sunne or wind affect them. I have these three days been abroad and as often brought in new impressions of the colds, yet both in strength and appetite I find myself bettered by the motion. Cold at first was the occasion of my sickness, heat and tenderness by close keepinge in my chamber has since increast my weakness. Aer and exercise are thought most proper to repaire it, which are the prescriptions of my doctors though noe physick. As children learn to go I shall get acquainted with the aer. Practice and use will compass it and now and then a fall is an instruction for

the future. These varieties He doth trye us with, that will have us perfect at all parts and as He gives us the trial He likewise gives the issue. The abilitie that shall be necessarie for the worke He will supply that does command the labour, who, delivering from the Lion and the Bear, has the Philistine also at the disposition of His will, and those that trust Him under His protection and defence. O the infinite mercy of our Master, Deare Friend, how it abounds to us that are unworthy of His service. How broken, how imperfect, how perverse and crooked are our waies in obedience to Him! how exactly straight is the line of His providence unto us, drawn out through all occurrents and particulars to the whole length and measure of our time! How perfect is His love that hath given His Sonne unto us, and with Him has promised likewise to give us all things.

‘This, Deare Friend, must be the comfort of His children; this is the physick we must use in all our sicknesse and extremities; this is the strengthening of the weake, the enriching of the poore, the liberty of the captive, the health of the diseased, the life of those that die, the death of that wretched life of sin. And this happiness have His saints. The contemplation of this happiness has led me almost beyond the compasse of a letter, but the haste I use unto my friends and the affection that does move it, will, I hope, excuse me. Friends should communicate their joyes; this, as the greatest therefore, I could not but impart unto my friend, being therein moved by the present speculation of your letters, which alwaies have the grace of much intelligence and are a happiness to him that is trulie yours

‘J. E.’



## WENTWORTH, THE STATESMAN.

(1593—1641.)

It would be difficult to find a greater contrast to the character of the Cornish Eliot than that of the Yorkshire Wentworth. A member of one of the oldest and richest families in Yorkshire, he had received a more liberal education than most country gentlemen of his time. At St. John's College, Cambridge, he cultivated his scholarly tastes and then travelled on the Continent to gain fluency in French and Italian and a knowledge of the world. When he entered public life at the age of twenty he had wealth, position, learning, polished taste, and courtly manners, but he was not disposed to settle down to the life of a courtier. Instead of this he put himself through a course of training in law and politics by an almost daily attendance at the Star Chamber; and, though a silent member of the second and third Parliaments of James I., he was all the time quietly forming his political opinions, and preparing to act upon them. He was from the first opposed to Buckingham, for there was in him an instinct for order and good government, which was jarred by Buckingham's frivolity and want of statesmanship. Moreover, his pride forbade him to take the only means which could win favourable notice from the favourite. Buckingham realized that this was a nature which he could not bend,

and to prevent him sitting in the Parliament of 1626, he had him 'pricked for Sheriff,' that is, appointed to an honour which he could not refuse, but which would



EARL OF STRAFFORD.

*[Walker and Cockerell.]*

keep him in Yorkshire and so away from Parliament. This threw Wentworth on to the side of the Opposition, and in 1626 we find him imprisoned for refusing to pay

a 'forced loan,' and in 1628 sitting with Eliot and Pym and urging forward the Petition of Right. Pressed by want of supplies for the war the King had been raising money by forced loans; unable to pay his soldiers he had lodged them in private houses; those who resisted these acts had been tried without a jury, and when persons who had been imprisoned demanded to be told the cause of their imprisonment, the only answer had been that it was 'the King's pleasure.' All these things were dangerous to the liberty of the subject, and Wentworth agreed with Eliot that the Petition of Right, which declared them to be illegal, would prove a security for good government. Beyond this, however, Wentworth and Eliot entirely differed in principle.

Charles agreed to the Petition of Right, 'saving the sovereign power,' that is, he was willing that it should be the rule in the ordinary course of things, but he held that there were times of crisis in which the law would rightly be suspended and the 'prerogative,' or exceptional power, take its place. For instance, in a time of great danger to the State it might be right to imprison a man without giving a reason, although in ordinary times the reason should be given. Wentworth saw this, and saw, too, more clearly the longer he worked with Pym and Eliot, that they were really claiming the sovereign power for the House of Commons, and that the Parliament might possibly prove more dangerous to liberty than the King. So from this time Wentworth is found on the King's side, as a man of his nature was bound to be. Pym looked upon this as a desertion of the popular cause, and in a famous meeting with Wentworth, parted from him with the words, 'You have left us, but I will never leave you while your head is on your shoulders.' He kept his word.

Buckingham was now out of the way and Wentworth rose quickly to office and power. He was made President of the Council of the North, a council which had been made in Tudor times to keep in control the half barbarous inhabitants of the Northern Counties. It was a part just suited to Wentworth, whose whole being leaned to order and the assertion of authority. He was most successful in keeping order, but here, as elsewhere, made many enemies among the rich and powerful men who had fondly thought themselves to be above the law, but were taught by Wentworth that lawlessness was to be unknown in England.

The same uncompromising spirit is seen in Wentworth's rule in Ireland, whither he was sent as Lord Deputy in 1682. Here a state of things was in existence with which Wentworth was the very man to deal. The rich Anglo-Irish lords lived in utter disregard of the law and the rights of the poorer Irish beneath them. In Church and State disorder reigned; churches everywhere had fallen into decay; their incomes had been seized by the rich landowners, so that several livings together could hardly maintain one incumbent; the Irish language was unknown to almost all the clergy, and yet the Bishops' courts fined the Irish who sought the ministration of their own priests; in Dublin one church was used as a stable, another as a tennis-court. There were no schools for the poor; justice was not attainable in the law-courts; there was hardly any trade. All this Wentworth set himself to remedy, and he worked by means of a Parliament which he had in perfect control. By balancing the English and Irish elements he was able to make it pass good laws and vote money to enable him to carry on his plans for the furtherance of the material prosperity of Ireland. Trade

sprang up and was protected by the suppression of piracy in the Channel; instead of the cloth manufacture, which had never prospered and had roused the jealousy of English clothworkers, he established the manufacture of linen, for which the North of Ireland was specially suited; he personally took in hand the customs, which had hitherto been farmed by two rich ladies and had brought in only a nominal sum to the revenue, and made them a source of great profit. The army was reorganized and made efficient; churches were rebuilt, church property restored, and schools founded; in every direction the lawless landowners were restrained and made to submit to Government; in all, Wentworth realized his great scheme of 'Thorough.' The least satisfactory part of his work was the Plantation of Connaught. Many lands in Connaught were legally forfeit to the King, and though Charles had promised to renounce his claim on these lands, Wentworth took advantage of a quibble that this promise had not been ratified by Parliament to seize them, thinking that the best thing he could do for Ireland would be to plant down a population of steady industrious English people who would teach the Irish how land should be cultivated. But few Englishmen answered his call to come and settle there, and the forfeiture of the lands caused very bitter feeling among the Irish. Wentworth's object was to make the Irish people orderly, law-abiding and prosperous, and in this he succeeded to a marvellous degree, considering the few years for which he was there. Where he failed was in want of sympathy with those for whom he worked; he wanted to make the Irish people English in habit, because he thought it was better for them; he never confided to them his plans; all was done for them,

whether they liked it or no. Better than immediate order or prosperity would have been a desire in the people for these good things. Wentworth's work, wonderful as it was, was too quickly performed to be lasting. His reforms all came from above, and had no root in the will of the people.

All that Wentworth did in Ireland, as in Yorkshire, was on behalf of the poor and the oppressed, and in doing it he incurred the enmity of the rich oppressors. These found their opportunity when Wentworth, now Earl of Strafford, was called home by Charles in 1639 to help him in the crisis brought about by the outbreak of the 'Bishops' War.' Wentworth obeyed the call, though he was really too ill to travel, and offered Charles advice which he had not the courage to take; which was, to use the Irish army against the Scotch and to face a Parliament. Charles called the Short Parliament, but dissolved it after three months; and then was forced by want of money to pay the army to call another, the famous 'Long Parliament.' The leader was Pym, who had not forgotten his threat to Strafford, and who meant to strike first at him, as the main prop of the King's Government. Strafford knew his danger and wished to stay with the army at York, but on receiving Charles' promise, 'they shall not hurt a hair of your head,' he came to London and was immediately impeached by Pym of 'High Treason.' The trial, which took place in Westminster Hall, is one of the most famous in history. The Lords sat there as judges in their gorgeous robes; the Commons as accusers, behaving not gracefully, 'eating and drinking out of large black bottles.' There, too, was the King, hidden behind a curtain, watching anxiously every step of the trial. Before the Bar stood Strafford, not allowed Counsel or



time to prepare his defence, almost worn out by disease and strain, but fighting gallantly for his life, proving that even by Pym's definition of treason, which was new to English law, he could not be proved guilty. All his Irish administration, in every detail, was brought up, harsh words, summary actions, overbearing manner. Yet, as Strafford urged, 'a hundred misdemeanours cannot make one felony, a hundred felonies cannot make a treason.' In answer to the charges brought against him he could plead the order and prosperity of Ireland, the linen manufacture, the restored revenue, the fleet, and, in spite of the severity of his government, the fact that not one person had suffered death under his rule. 'Where I found a Crown and Church and people spoiled, I could not imagine to redeem them from under that pressure with gracious smiles and gentle looks—it costs warmer water than so.' Pym, however, urged that all this had been done to make the King independent of Parliament, and that whoever should do so would destroy the harmony between the King and his people and in so doing would be guilty of treason.

The lords, however, were not convinced by this reasoning; the trial was clearly going in Strafford's favour, and a new plan must be tried. The notes of a speech of Strafford in a Privy Council meeting, taken by Sir Henry Vane, had been found by his son, the younger Harry Vane. These reported Strafford as having advised the King to use his army in Ireland for 'the reduction of this Kingdom.' To advise the King to bring an army against England is an act of treason, said Pym, and this, though it was clearly shown that the Kingdom in question was Scotland, then in open rebellion, was made the ground of a Bill of Attainder against Strafford. This means a special law condemning

a particular person to death for acts committed in the past : a measure characteristic of Tudor times and justly condemned in all ages as an instrument of tyranny, as it denies the culprit a fair trial. This, like any other Bill, must be passed by the Commons and the Lords and signed by the King before it can become law. The Commons passed it, with 56 voting against it : the Lords hesitated, but gave way before mob violence, and then, between Strafford and death there was only the King, one who owed him much and who, for good or for evil, had hitherto always stood by his friends. Yet, pressed by Pym's threat of impeaching the Queen, Charles gave way and laid on his honour a stain of which he repented to the end of his life. 'Put not your trust in princes' was the last lesson of Strafford's life. He had had some chance of learning it before : all through his work in Ireland he had been hampered by Charles' doing things without asking his advice, and failing to support him at critical moments. Archbishop Laud, who had been Strafford's warm friend and confidant during his work in Ireland, was his fellow prisoner in the Tower. Strafford's request that he might see him to say good-bye was refused, but the Archbishop's hands were stretched out between the bars of his prison window to bless him as he passed to the place of execution. He addressed a few dignified words on the scaffold to those around him, clearing himself of any intention that was not for the good of the King and the nation, and adding 'I do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this hour as ever I did when I went to bed.'

The public side of Strafford's life takes up most of our space, but other sides are revealed in his letters. His love for his wife and children was very strong and

tender; the memory of them was the only thing that made him falter in the face of death, and his letters to Laud and his friend Sir George Radcliffe show a deep religious conviction such as he commended in his last letter to his son. 'For your Religion, let it be directed according to that which shall be taught by those which are in God's church the proper Teachers thereof, rather than that you should ever either fancy one to yourself or be led by men that are singular in their opinion and delight to go in ways of their own finding out.'

*Letter of the King to Lord Strafford.*

'STRAFFORD,

'The Misfortune that is fallen upon you by the strange Mistaking and Conjuncture of these Tymes being such that I must lay by the thought of imploring you heereafter in my Affaires, yet I cannot satisfie myself in Honnor or Conciencie without asseuring you (now in the midst of your Trobles) that, upon the word of a King, you shall not suffer in Lyfe Honnor or Fortune: This is but Justice, and therefore a verie meane Rewarde from a Maister to so faithfull and able a Servant, as you have showed yourselfe to bee; yet it is as much, as I conceive the present Tymes will permitt, though none shall hinder me from being

'Your constant faithfull Frend,

'CHARLES R.

'WHYTHALL, *April 23, 1641.*'

*'The Earl of Strafforde to his only Son William, afterwards Earle of Strafford.*

'MY DEAREST WILL,

'These are the last Lines you are to receive from a Father that tenderly loves you. I wish there were a

greater Leisure to impart my Mind unto you ; but our merciful God will supply all things by His Grace, and guide and protect you in all your Ways ; To whose infinite Goodness I bequeath you, and therefore be not discouraged, but serve him and trust in him, and he will preserve and prosper you in all things.

‘ Be sure you give all Respect to my Wife, that hath ever had a great Love unto you, and therefore will be well becoming you. Never be wanting in your Love and Care to your Sisters, but let them ever be most dear unto you ; For, this will give others cause to esteem and respect you for it, and is a Duty that you owe them in the Memory of your excellent Mother and myself : Therefore your Care and Affection to them must be the very same that you are to have of yourself ; and the like regard must you have to your youngest sister ; for indeed you owe it her also, both for her Father and Mother’s sake.

‘ Sweet Will, be careful to take the advice of those Friends which are by me desired to advise you for your Education. Serve God diligently morning and Evening, and recommend yourself unto Him and have him before your Eyes in all your Ways. With Patience hear the instructions of those Friends I leave with you and diligently follow their Counsel : For, till you come by Time to have Experience in the World, it will be far more safe to trust to their Judgment than to your own.

‘ Lose not the Time of your Youth, but gather those seeds of Virtue and Knowledge, which may be of Use to yourself and Comfort to your friends for the rest of your Life. And that this may be the better effected, attend thereunto with Patience and be sure to correct and restrain yourself from anger. Suffer not sorrow to

cast you down, but with Cheerfulness and good Courage go on to the Race you have to run in all sobriety and Truth. Be sure with an Hallowed care to have respect to all the Commandments of God, and give not yourself to neglect them in the least Things lest by degrees you come to forget them in the greatest ; for the Heart of Man is deceitful above all Things. And in all your Duties and Devotions towards God, rather perform them joyfully than pensively, for God loves a cheerful Giver. For your Religion, let it be directed according to that which shall be taught by those, which are in God's Church the proper Teachers thereof, rather than that you should ever either fancy one to yourself, or be led by them that are singular in their own opinions and delight to go in ways of their own finding out : For you will certainly find Soberness and Truth in the one, and much Unsteadiness and Vanity in the other.

‘The King I trust will deal graciously with you, restore you those Honours and Fortune, which a distempered Time hath deprived you of, together with the Life of your Father ; which I rather advise might be by a new Gift and Creation from himself than by any other means, to the end you may pay the Thanks to him without having obligation to any other.

‘Be sure to avoid as much as you can to enquire after those that have been sharp in their Judgments towards me, and I charge you never to suffer Thoughts of Revenge to enter your Heart ; but be careful to be informed, who were my friends in this Prosecution, and to them apply yourself to make them your Friend also ; and on such you may rely and bestow much of your conversation among them.

‘And God almighty by his infinite Goodness bless you and your children's children ; and his same goodness

bleſs your Siſters in like manner, perfect you in every good Work and give you right Underſtandings in all Things. Amen.

‘ Your moſt loving Father,

‘ T. WENTWORTH.

‘ TOWER, *this 11th of May, 1641.*’



## PYM, THE LEADER OF OPPOSITION.

JOHN PYM was born in 1584 of an old and rich Somersetshire family. He was educated at Oxford, and probably studied law later. He sat in the Parliament of 1614, and, after his wife's death in 1620, devoted himself entirely to public affairs. He was one of the four who presented the 'Protest' to King James, and was imprisoned for doing so, upon which he said, 'I had rather suffer for speaking the truth than that the truth should suffer for my want of speaking.' In the Parliament of 1625 he sat as member for Tavistock, and, under Eliot's lead, was one of the secret managers of Buckingham's impeachment in the following year. With Eliot and Wentworth he drew up the 'Petition of Right,' and when the King promised to accept it on condition that the House would 'leave entire the sovereign power with which his Majesty was entrusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of the people,' Pym's comment was, 'I know not what it is. All our petition is for the Laws of England, and this power seems to be another distinct power from the power of the law.' This was always Pym's position. He did not see, or refused to recognise, any power above the law. Yet Bacon, speaking as a great lawyer, had said 'Whatsoever some silly lawyers may preach to the contrary, the prerogative is the accomplishment and perfection of the common law.' It was of no use to shut

the eyes to the fact of the existence of the prerogative : the contest now at hand was to decide what body was to hold it, and Pym himself soon found that his aims could not be contained within the limits of the law. In this Parliament Pym fell into the background behind Eliot. With profound admiration and love for Eliot he yet felt himself unable to follow him entirely in his oratorical flights. Pym was essentially a practical statesman, with a grasp of principle and clear judgment. His speaking was a contrast to Eliot's, not impassioned or moving, but weighty with well-reasoned arguments.

He was active on the Commission on Religion which attacked Dr. Mainwaring for his sermons in support of the Divine Right of Kings. Though no Puritan, he saw the close connection between religion and politics. Church and King, it was clear, would stand or fall together, and to reduce the power of the former was so much gain to Parliamentary supremacy.

Pym took no part in the stormy scenes which brought about the dissolution of Parliament in 1629, and for the next eleven years the voice of the Opposition was silenced; but we can imagine him a keen critic of all the methods used by the King during these years to gain money to carry on the Government without a Parliament, especially the expedient of ship-money, for the refusal to pay which his friend John Hampden was brought to trial. That nothing had escaped his eye we know from the great speech which he delivered at the opening of the Short Parliament, where, 'while men gazed at each other, looking who should begin, Mr. Pym . . . broke the ice in a set discourse of two hours,' and from that moment he stands forth as the recognised leader of the opposition.

An abler leader it could hardly have had. Grave,

thoughtful, and of balanced judgment and unswerving purpose, a born leader of men, acting upon reason rather than passion, he could seize upon every advantage given him by an opponent, and was never wrong in his tactics. In this famous speech he marshalled his arguments in clear order, dividing the subjects for discussion under the three heads of *privilege of Parliament*, under which he dwelt upon the imprisonment of Eliot; the *religious grievances*, 'the great encouragement given to Popery, and the preferment of such men as introduce the innovations inclining to Popery,' and *civil oppression*, under which he brought together in detail all the acts of the King by which he had tried to make himself independent of Parliament; tonnage and poundage, impositions, monopolies, ship-money, the Star Chamber Court, the King's proclamations, and, crowning all, the long intermission of Parliaments.

The hasty dissolution of the Short Parliament gave him an advantage which he was not slow to use, as it showed the country that Charles was not prepared to abandon his general position, although he had agreed to give up his 'right' to ship-money. The issue was now clearly before the country, and Pym and his friends spent the next few months canvassing for the election which they knew must shortly be held, for the presence of the Scotch army in England made it impossible for Charles to go long without a Parliament. It must be remembered that the House of Commons of those days was in no sense representative of the great body of the nation. The electors consisted almost entirely of land-owners, and the members elected were drawn chiefly from the upper classes, which were just those which had felt most heavily the restraining hand of Strafford and Laud. When the Long Parliament met, Pym was its

recognised leader. His plan of campaign had been thoroughly thought out ; he had his allies in the Scotch army, and he began with the bold stroke of the impeachment of Strafford. This was a statesmanlike step, for the whole of the King's policy was embodied in Strafford, whose fall would mean the collapse of the policy. It is, however, impossible to deny that personal motives were mingled with public ones, when we remember Pym's parting threat to Wentworth when he left the side of the Opposition. It is one of the most dramatic scenes in history, these two great men, each an embodiment of a great principle, each so confident in the justice of his cause, entering upon a final conflict, and brought face to face in Westminster Hall. The position taken up by Pym, that Strafford's acts, though all sanctioned by the King, amounted to treason because they were destructive of Parliamentary government, was the clearest possible assertion of the principle of the supremacy of Parliament.

At first, however, the concessions demanded from Charles, when he had yielded Strafford, were all such as were consistent with the Constitution. The abolition of the High Commission Court and Star Chamber ; the assurance of a three years' existence to Parliament ; the final renunciation of the claim to take any money from the nation without grant from Parliament, were all constitutional reforms, and still left the King supreme in the State. But Pym did not stop there. Always suspicious of the King's good faith, he proceeded to measures which would make secure the position which he demanded for Parliament. And now in the question of religion, he first met with determined opposition. A Bill to exclude the Bishops from the House of Lords was passed by the Commons but rejected by the Lords,

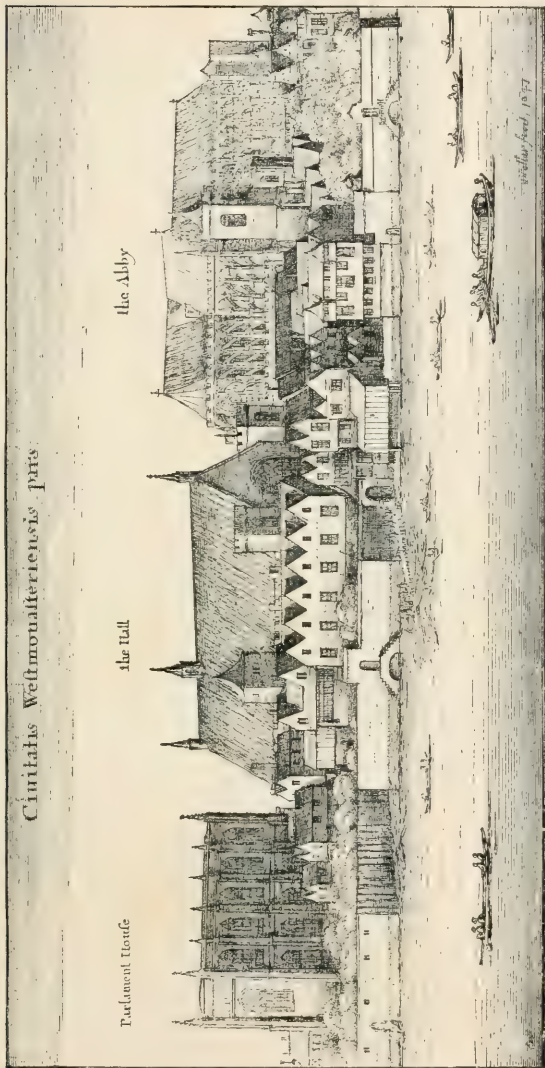
and it was known that the King would refuse to accept it, since Charles, though he was ready to yield in political matters, was immovable where the Church was concerned. Irritated by this first resistance to their demands, the leaders of the Commons brought in the 'Root and Branch' Bill, to destroy episcopacy altogether, and here they met with a determined opposition, not merely from the small minority who supported the King in everything, but from the important body of moderate men, led by Hyde and Falkland, who so far had voted with the majority, but now took alarm lest liberty might be in greater peril from the Commons than from the King. There were signs too of a reaction in the nation: men had begun to think that the Parliament had gone far enough. Then came the terrible news of the Irish rebellion, a rising of the Roman Catholic Irish against the English. Only an army could put this down, and if the King were entrusted with an army, what might he not do with it? To revive his waning popularity Pym proceeded to extreme measures. The 'Grand Remonstrance' was a declaration of war, calling men to take sides for or against the Parliament: it 'showed again' every unpopular act of Charles since his accession, ignoring the fact that he had promised to avoid all such acts for the future. It was passed, though with the fiercest opposition, and published as an appeal to the country. But the country did not respond: even in Puritan London the King seemed to be gaining a following, though it was there that the name of Pym was most powerful, and the London train-bands had formed themselves into a Guard for the Parliament. When a wild attack was made by the mob on some of the Bishops, which they met by staying away from the House, and sending a Protest

claiming that the Parliament was not free, since a whole estate of the realm was kept away by force, Pym at once proposed the impeachment of all the Bishops, but popular feeling went with the Bishops. The King's true policy now was to let the revolutionary spirit take its course and to show the nation that law and order were on his side, but he threw away his advantage, and urged by the Queen, he put the law against him by the impeachment of Pym and four other members for treason, the charge being that they had (1) 'tried to subvert the fundamental laws and the government of the kingdom, to deprive the King of his regal power and to place in the subject an arbitrary and tyrannical power'; (2) 'alienated the affection of the people from the King'; (3) 'exercised terrorism over Parliament'; (4) 'encouraged a foreign power to levy war.'

Pym had been warned by his friend Lady Carlisle, who had learned the secret from the Queen, that Charles meant to arrest him, and he and the others had taken refuge in the city, when Charles with his armed Guard went down to Westminster, and bidding the guard stay outside, entered the House of Commons, and standing at the Speaker's chair, looked round for the accused. Finding that 'the birds were flown,' he declared that he intended to give the accused members a fair trial, and maintaining in his demeanour an elaborate courtesy, he left the House, amid cries of 'Privilege, Privilege!' All London took up the cause of the five members. 'King Pym' as he was called, was brought back, with flags flying and bands playing, up the river to the House, on the day that the King left London, not to return except as a prisoner.

From this time war was inevitable; and Pym's work for the Parliament falls into the background before the





WESTMINSTER.

military preparations. He was still the leader of Parliament, active in collecting money for the war; determined to carry it through, meeting the King's attempt at conciliation with a motion to impeach the Queen, which put all compromise out of the question. His last important action was to conclude a treaty with the Scotch, in the beginning of 1643, by which the English Parliament bound itself to force Presbyterianism on an unwilling nation in return for the help of the Scotch army to turn the tide of war, which was setting strongly against the Parliament. In this action Pym's statesmanship was for once at fault; the Scotch alliance brought a temporary advantage at the cost of much future mischief, for nothing so hampered the Parliament in its later stage as the connection with Scotland. To Pym the form of Church government was a matter of indifference. Episcopacy was on the side of the King, Presbyterianism on the side of Parliament, therefore he was ready to accept Presbyterianism. He died in 1643, when the outlook for his party was at the darkest, but his courage was unshaken, for of him, as of Eliot, Strafford, and Laud, it might be said that he was

'One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward.  
Never doubted clouds would break,  
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph.'

*From Pym's Speech on Strafford's Impeachment.*

'This arbitrary and tyrannical power which the Earl of Strafford did exercise with his own person, and to which he did advise his majesty, is inconsistent with the peace, the wealth, the prosperity of a nation; it is destructive to justice, the mother of peace; to industry, the spring of wealth; to valour, which is the active

virtue whereby only the prosperity of a nation can be procured, confirmed, and enlarged. It is not only apt to take away peace, and so entangle the nation with wars, but doth *corrupt peace*, and put such a malignity into it as produceth the effects of war. We need seek no other proofs of this but the Earl of Strafford's Government; where the Irish, both nobility and others, had as little security of their persons or estates in this peaceable time as if the Kingdom had been under the rage and fury of war.

‘And as for industry and valour, who will take pains for that which when he hath gotten is not his own? or who fight for that wherein he hath no other interest but such as is subject to the will of another? The ancient encouragement to men that were to defend their countries was this, that they were to hazard their person, “*pro aris et focus*,” for their religion and for their homes.

‘But by this arbitrary way which was practised in Ireland, *and counselled here*, no man had any certainty, either of religion or of his home, or of anything else to be his own; and besides this, such arbitrary courses have an ill operation upon the courage of a nation, by embasing the hearts of the people.

‘A servile condition does for the most part beget in men a slavish temper and disposition. Those that live so much under the whips, and the pillory, and such servile engines as were frequently used by the Earl of Strafford, they may have the dregs of valour—sullenness, and stubbornness, which may make them prone to mutinies and discontents; but those noble and gallant affections which put men to brave designs and attempts for the preservation or enlargement of a Kingdom, they are hardly capable of.

‘Shall it be treason to embase the King’s Coin, though but a piece of twelvepence or sixpence? and must it not needs be the effect of a greater treason to embase the spirit of his subjects, and to set up a stamp and character of servitude upon them, whereby they shall be disabled to do anything for the service of the King and Commonwealth?’

## LAUD, THE ECCLESIASTIC.

LAUD was born in 1573 at Reading, of humble parents, a fact which was often brought against him as a reproach by his enemies of the 'popular party.' While at the Grammar School he showed great promise, and by the help of a friend he was sent to St. John's College, Oxford, where in 1598 he became a tutor and took Orders in 1601. Calvinism was strong in Oxford at that time and Laud soon distinguished himself as an opponent of it, and on that account was preached against as 'neither Papist nor Protestant but a mongrel of both.' He was elected President of the College in 1611 and did so much for it as to deserve the title of its second founder. In 1616 the King made him his chaplain and four years after Dean of Gloucester, with the special work of repairing the Cathedral, which had fallen into great disorder. One of the first things that Laud did was to restore the Holy Table to its place at the east end of the choir, according to the rubric and to the usual practice of Cathedrals. Of late, however, in many parish churches, the Table had been left in the body of the church, where, according to Elizabeth's 'Injunctions,' it might be taken for use, and was often used as a place where men sat, or placed their hats, or wrote accounts. Wherever Laud, now and after, had authority, he insisted on it being placed in the chancel; his insistence on this, and the opposition to it, arising

from the fact that the different positions indicated different views as to the meaning of the Holy Communion.

In 1621 Laud was made Bishop of St. Davids and after this was much at Court, where he formed a strong affection for the Duke of Buckingham, over whom he obtained a great influence which at one time had to be used to prevent Buckingham from joining the Church of Rome. In 1626 Laud was made Bishop of Bath and Wells; two years later Bishop of London, and in 1633 Archbishop of Canterbury. This brought him, of course, into close connection with the King and with politics. In this capacity he sat both on the High Commission Court and the Star Chamber Court. The former, instituted in the reign of Elizabeth, was for the trial of ecclesiastical and moral offences. In the latter connection its influence was used wholly in the direction of preventing the oppression of the weak by the strong, and lawlessness in high places: it was the special protection of women and of the sanctity of marriage. It was chiefly in the trial of clergy that the court came into collision with the Puritans, men who sought to reduce the ceremonies of the Church to simpler forms, mainly with a desire to remove it further from the customs of the Roman Church, which they regarded as 'antichrist.' Laud's attitude towards Rome, though, of course, not that of the Puritans, was always one of firm resistance. When advances were made to him with the offer of a Cardinal's hat, his reply was 'I must first see Rome other than it is.' But in spite of this he was always considered by the Puritans to be Roman at heart and preparing the way for the perversion of the English clergy.

The Puritan looked with jealousy upon all form and

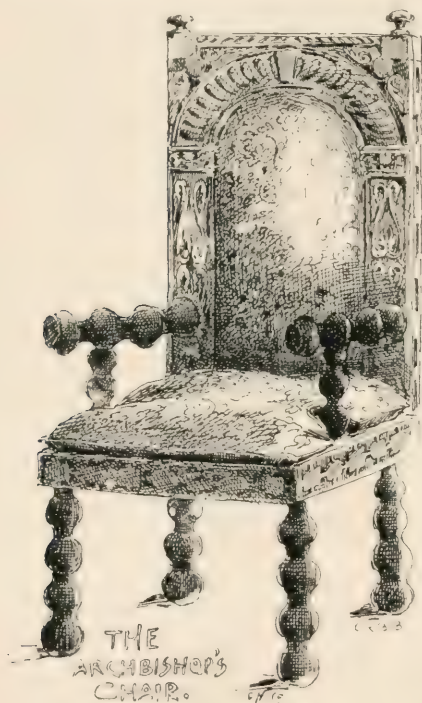




*William Laud*

ceremony, even the simplest, as being unspiritual and standing between the soul and its communion with God; Laud looked upon external adornment as teaching the beauty of holiness, and upon order and decency

in the conduct of the service as disciplining the mind and bringing it into a fit temper to approach holy things; he saw in it, too, a link with the past and a bond of unity. The Puritan, again, demanded rigid orthodoxy according to the system of Calvin, and would tolerate no diversity of opinion; Laud taught that the Church 'requireth not consent unto particulars,' and not only did not demand that men should have made up their



minds on the mysteries of 'free will,' but thought that such questions were better left alone by the ordinary Christian, and did his best, supported by the authority of the King, to prevent controversy on these points. What a man believed was a matter of his own conscience, and Laud would not concern him-

self with that; his outward practice was a matter of obedience to authority, and Laud and the High Commission Court were there to enforce conformity. But in an age when theological controversy amounted almost to a passion it was of little use to forbid discussion. The sermon was to most people the interesting point of the service, and many devices were made to escape Laud's injunction: 'If you preach you must pray.' Lectures and private chaplains were instituted to supply the need for controversial sermons, and it took all Laud's vigilance and ingenuity to prevent schemes which he held to be productive of disaffection and disunion. It must be remembered that the uniformity of ceremony which Laud enforced was the minimum required by the Prayer-Book; it was the use of the surplice and not of elaborate vestments, of the Cross in baptism, and not of any ornate ritual. And the persons on whom this conformity was enforced were clergymen of the Church of England, who were not claiming liberty of dissent but were trying to mould the Church to their own views.

There was great lawlessness in the Church as in the State; Laud, at home, like Strafford in Ireland, had to teach the great men that they were not above the law. Thus, when a certain great person, who objected to a window in Salisbury Cathedral, chose to break it with his stick, Laud dealt with him in the High Commission Court, not because he himself approved of the window, but because that was not the legal way of removing it. Bishops who preferred to live in London were sent back with a sharp admonition to their sees; Judges were forbidden to take upon themselves to issue proclamations forbidding people to engage in sports on

Sundays. Of the fourteen cases of clergy being deprived of their livings recorded in the annals of the High Commission Court, seven were for moral offences which would in any age be generally looked upon as deserving punishment, the others for offences against the recognised law of the Church and not for resisting any arbitrary demands of the Archbishop. It is true that Laud was overbearing in manner and unsympathetic in dealing with these cases; he simply could not understand a conscience so tender that it could not obey lawfully constituted authority. His sharpness of manner made him many enemies, a fact which his young friend Edward Hyde felt it his duty to point out to the Archbishop, who received the rebuke with the utmost meekness, admitting the fault but disclaiming any evil intention. Doubtless he overrated the value of an unwilling conformity in training men's minds to appreciate truth. He looked upon such a man as George Herbert as an example of the life of the Church of England; he did not perhaps realize enough that one must have the spirit of George Herbert before the outward observance of the Church's order can be of much value.

In the Court of Star Chamber also the Archbishop sat as judge, and the unpopularity of its acts fell upon him in after time. This court was a very old one: its powers were almost unlimited, and its duty was to try cases which could not be dealt with by the ordinary law courts. Consisting, as it did, of all the chief lawyers of the day, and acting without a jury, it was naturally powerful and competent, and often a most useful protection of the weak against the oppression of powerful enemies, but obviously it could easily be made an instrument of tyranny, and its sympathies were not likely to be with the culprit. Laud is associated

with three famous trials of the day, those of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton. The first, a lawyer, came before the court for a book, 'Histriomastix,' making coarse and fierce attacks on stage plays and very pointed charges against the Queen for having acted in a play at Court. Burton and Bastwick were brought up for attacks on the King and Bishops as 'attempting to change the orthodox religion and to introduce Popery.' The punishments inflicted on these men were, according to the fashion of the day, severe even to brutality—the pillory, mutilation, and a heavy fine. Laud did not vote, but made no effort to obtain any mitigation of the sentence.

In 1637 the King went to Scotland, taking with him a prayer-book prepared by Laud, differing from the English one only by being more like the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI., and therefore, as the Puritans quite mistakenly believed, more like that of Rome. Neither Charles nor Laud had had any conception of the resistance that it would provoke: a prayer-book of any kind was objectionable, but one made in England was intolerable to the Scotch. Open rebellion followed the introduction of the book, and as a result of this came the necessity for calling a Parliament, and one of the first acts of the Long Parliament was to imprison Laud on the charge of High Treason, though he was left in the Tower without a trial till November, 1643. The trial before the House of Lords was continued at intervals till the following October. The charges were prepared by Prynne, who had searched all the Archbishop's books and papers, carrying off even his diary and his book of private devotions. Laud was charged with Popery, with the subversion of the fundamental laws of the realm, with the trial of Prynne, with wearing a cope,



with ceremoniously consecrating a church, with saying sharp things to certain persons; all that could be raked up against him was brought forward, and he answered each charge. The impeachment, for want of evidence, was turned into a Bill of Attainder, which was passed by the Commons and a House of six peers; and on the same day the Book of Common Prayer was abolished by Act of Parliament. On January 3, 1645, Laud was led out to be beheaded, attended by his Chaplain and two Presbyterian divines whose ministrations had been forced upon him. Quite fearlessly he faced the crowd and delivered a sermon, though, as he said, it was 'an uncomfortable time to preach.' 'Lord, I am coming as fast as I can,' he said, as he laid his head upon the block. He had had a long time of waiting. The four years of imprisonment, surrounded by enemies, amid rumours of trouble to his King and country, and with his life's work apparently being undone, must have made the strenuous worker envy his friend Strafford's quicker 'putting off his doublet.'

He had found time in his life for much care for learning. St. John's College, Oxford, owes to him its finest buildings and its library. Thither his body was taken at the Restoration to be laid in the chapel. As Chancellor of the University, he reformed its discipline, fostered scholarship, and enriched its libraries. His chief writing was the answer to Fisher the Jesuit, a controversial work defending the position of the English Church as against Rome. It shows Laud's liberal mind in the words, 'Nor will I ever take upon me to express that tenet or opinion, the denial of the foundation only excepted, which may shut any Christian, even the meanest, out of heaven.' But the most valuable books left by him are his diary and book of devotions,





THE LIBRARY OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

[W. A. Maunsell and Co.]

in which we see the inner man, and find behind the stern disciplinarian and practical reformer the sensitive friend and the devout and humble Christian.

‘No work begun shall ever pause for death.’

And Laud’s work for the Church abides.

*From Archbishop Laud’s Diary.*

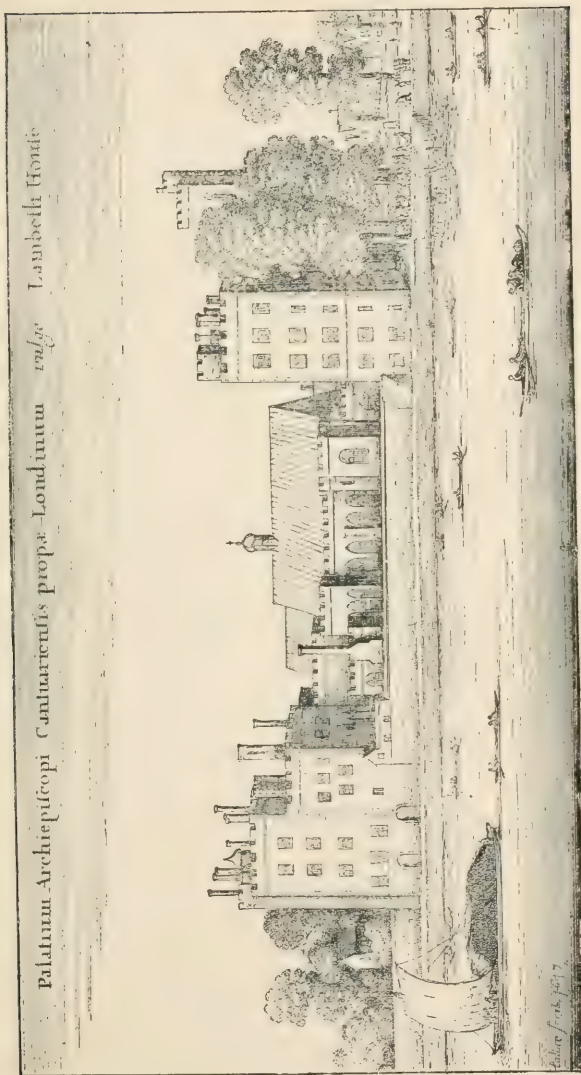
‘*June 11, 1634.* Mr. Prynne sent me a very libellous letter about his censure in the Star Chamber for his *Histrio Mastix*, and what I said at that censure, in which he hath many ways mistaken me and spoken untruth of me.

‘*June 16.* I showed the letter to the King and by his command sent it to Mr. Attorney Noye.

‘*June 17.* Mr. Attorney sent for Mr. Prynne to his chamber, showed him the letter, and asked him whether it were his hand. Mr. Prynne said he could not tell unless he might read it. The letter being given into his hand, he tore it into small pieces, threw it out at the window, and said that it should never rise in judgment against him, fearing, it seems, an *ore tenus* for this.

‘*June 18.* Mr. Attorney brought him for this into the Star Chamber, where all this appeared with shame enough to Mr. Prynne. I there forgave him.

‘*December 18, 1640.* I was accused by the House of Commons for High Treason without any particular charge laid against me, which they said should be prepared in convenient time. Mr. D. Hollys was the man that brought up the message to the Lords. Soon after the charge was brought into the Upper House by the Scottish Commissioners, tending to prove me an incen-



Palatium Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis prope Londinum 1797 Lambeth House

LAMBETH HOUSE.

diary. I was presently committed to the Gentleman Usher, but was permitted to go in his company to my house at Lambeth for a book or two to read in, and such papers as pertained to my defence against the Scots.

‘I stayed at Lambeth in the evening to avoid the gazing of the people. I went to evening prayer in my chapel. The Psalms of the day and Chapter 50 of Esai gave me great comfort. God make me worthy of it and fit to receive it.

‘As I went to the barge hundreds of my poor neighbours stood there and prayed for my safety and return to my house, for which I bless God and them.

‘*May 15, 1642.* On Sunday I made a shift between my man and my staff to go to church. There one Mr. Joslin preached with vehemency becoming Bedlam, with treason sufficient to hang him in any other state, and with such particular abuse to me that women and boys stood up in the church to see how I could bear it. I humbly thank God for my patience.’



LORD FALKLAND.

## FALKLAND, THE PHILOSOPHER.

MOST of the men who took part in the great struggle of the seventeenth century on either side were possessed with the certainty that their side was in the right and their opponents in the wrong, and it was this intensity of conviction which gave them strength to press on through all opposition, looking neither backward nor round them, but straight forwards. This power is perhaps the secret of success in a struggle, but it involves a loss of sympathy and breadth of view. Such men as Strafford and Pym drive the world forward, but we could ill spare the men who balance it, who are able to see the right and wrong on both sides, and who suffer

intensely when they are forced to take part in any great contest of principles, because they see more clearly than their narrower but more robust fellow-combatants the loss which is involved.

Such a man was Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland, who, though holding a Scotch peerage, sat in the Long Parliament as member for Newport. His father being Lord Deputy for Ireland, he was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where, says Clarendon, 'he made better progress in academic exercise and language than most men do in more celebrated places.' The influence at Dublin was strongly Calvinistic; his mother, however, had become a Roman Catholic, so that the young Falkland was subject in early life to two strong religious influences of opposite tendencies.

Falkland displeased his father by an early marriage, and retired with his wife to Holland, intending to buy a commission in the army, but his tastes and inclinations were all intellectual, and he soon returned to England, and settled down at his country house of Great Tew in Oxfordshire, which became a meeting-place for many of the greatest writers and thinkers of the age. The first names in the circle of Falkland's friends are those of the poets and 'wits of the town,' Carew, Waller, Suckling and others; later they are those of Hales and Chillingworth, the bold and 'unorthodox' theological students, who nevertheless enjoyed the friendship and protection of Laud, always ready to encourage free inquiry if it were not associated with lawless action; of Selden, the great lawyer, and of Hobbes, the philosopher. Among these friends all kinds of religious questions were discussed, and all shades of opinion represented, and Clarendon tells us that 'in religion he thought too careful or too curious inquiry could not be



made amongst those whose purity was not questioned and whose authority was constantly and confidently urged by men who were furthest from being of one mind amongst themselves, for the mutual support of their several opinions in which they most contradicted each other; and in all these controversies he had so dispassioned a consideration, such a candour in his nature, and so profound a charity in his conscience, that in those points in which he was in his own judgment most clear, he never thought the worse of, or in any degree declined the familiarity of those who were of another mind, which without question is an excellent temper for the propagation and advancement of Christianity.'

Thus Falkland spent ten years of retirement during the time that the King was ruling without a Parliament, and it is not wonderful that, as member of the Long Parliament, he hesitated to take a side, nor that he first inclined to that of the Opposition. For *liberty* was the highest good in the eyes of Falkland, and the Opposition had not as yet had a chance of showing what they would do, whereas the King had in the last eleven years in the sight of all men interfered again and again with the liberty of the subject. Different people mean different things by the word liberty. One, the literal meaning of the word, is freedom from interference, which involves the power to go wrong. That was what Falkland meant by liberty, for he thought that a man could not really be said to do right unless he had had the chance of deliberately refusing to do wrong. Good government was what Charles and Pym meant by liberty, although they might differ as to what 'good government' was; both thought that the people should be guided in the right path and restrained from

doing wrong by a power above them, either King or Parliament. To Falkland, looking on at the struggle between King and Parliament, it gradually became more and more clear that there was greater chance for liberty, as he interpreted it, from the King than from the Opposition, especially in religious matters. If Episcopacy 'chastised' England 'with whips,' Presbyterianism would 'chastise it with scorpions,' and there was as yet no suggestion of any form of Church government between these two; the Independents, or 'secedaries,' were equally hated by both sides. It was this growing conviction which caused Falkland, with seeming inconsistency, to change sides. Whereas, when the bill for excluding Bishops from the House of Lords was first brought in, Falkland voted for it, thinking to limit the power of the Bishops, he was found on the side against the bill when it was revived later on in the same year, and to the remonstrance of Hampden 'he replied that he had been persuaded by that worthy gentleman to believe many things which he had since found to be untrue.' It was the Grand Remonstrance which finally decided Falkland to take the side of the King. He saw that the Remonstrance really claimed the sovereignty for Parliament, and it was he who moved the adjournment of the House that the question might have a full morning for discussion; 'for sure it will take some debate,' he said to Cromwell, who replied contemptuously, 'a very sorry one.' Falkland, however, proved to have gauged the temper of the House better, for the debate, which began at 9 o'clock in the morning, was continued after candles had been brought in till midnight, the longest sitting that the House had ever known. The division showed a majority of only eleven for the Remonstrance, and when the further

motion was made that it should be printed and published, which meant that it should be made an appeal to the people against the King, the minority claimed the right to enter their protest against it. In the dimly-lit darkness of the November night swords were drawn and blood would have been shed had not Hampden interposed with calmer counsels. Falkland would not be reassured as to the prospect of liberty when the House committed one of the members to the Tower for his protest.

Falkland had now definitely taken his side, and unwillingly accepted office as Charles' Secretary of State, but the events which crowded the succeeding months, and the final declaration of war were more and more destructive to his hopes of liberty. 'His natural cheerfulness and vitality grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him which he had never been used to.' Even after the war broke out he hoped against hope that the question would not be fought out to the bitter end, and when the negotiations failed, 'those indispositions which had before touched him grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness, and he who had before been so exactly easy and affable to all men that his face and countenance were always present and vacant to his company, and (who) held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage a kind of rudeness or incivility, became on a sudden less communicable and thence very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness and industry and expense than is usual in so great a soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent, and in his reception of suitors and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick and sharp and severe that

there wanted not some men (strangers to his nature and disposition) who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free. . . . When there was any overture or hope of peace he would be more erect and vigorous and exceedingly solicitous to press anything which he thought could promote it; and sitting among his friends often after a deep silence and frequent sighs would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate, "Peace—Peace," and would passionately profess that the very agony of the war and the view of the calamities and the desolation the kingdom did and must endure took his sleep from him and would shortly break his heart.'

\* There was in Falkland none of the joy of conflict, but there was no lack of personal courage, and Hyde even had to remonstrate with him for his rashness in facing danger. Heading a charge at the first battle of Newbury, he was shot, and fell from his horse, and so passed

'To where, beyond these voices, there is peace.'

*From Lord Falkland's Speech on the Root and Branch Bill.*

'Since all great mutations in Government are dangerous (even where what is introduced by that mutation is such as would have been profitable upon a primary foundation), and since the greatest danger of mutations is that all the dangers and inconveniences they may bring are not to be foreseen, and since no wise man will undergo great danger but for great necessity, my opinion is that we should not root up this ancient tree, as dead as it appears, till we have tried whether by this or the like topping of the branches the sap which was unable

to feed the whole may not serve to make what is left both grow and flourish.'

*From Abraham Cowley: on Lord Falkland going to join the Army in the First Bishops' War.*

'Great is thy charge O North : be wise and just ;  
England commits her Falkland to thy trust.  
Return him safe : learning would rather choose  
Her Bodley or her Vatican to lose ;  
All things that are but writ or printed there  
In his unbounded breast engraven are.

\* \* \* \* \*

And this great Prince of Knowledge is by Fate  
Thrust into th' noise and business of a State.

\* \* \* \* \*

Such is the man whom we require ; the same  
We lent the North ; untouched as is his fame,  
He is too good for war and ought to be  
As far from danger as from fear he is free.'

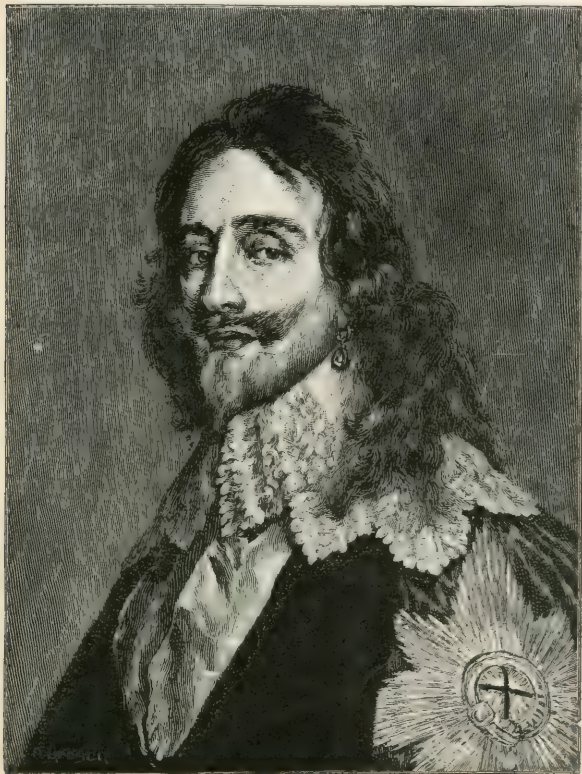
## CHARLES I., 'THE KING BY DIVINE RIGHT.'

CHARLES I. was twenty-five when he came to the throne. He had been carefully educated and possessed literary and artistic taste ; music and pictures were his great delight all through his life. In manner he was courteous and dignified, a strong contrast to his garrulous father, and a certain reserve and aloofness of bearing perhaps helped towards the fascination which he undoubtedly exercised over foes as well as friends.

In his youth he came under the influence of the brilliant Buckingham, which only strengthened its hold on him as years went on. It was Buckingham who inspired him with a romantic passion for the Spanish princess whom he had never seen, and whom James' political plans had assigned to him for a wife ; and it was Buckingham who proposed the wild scheme of the journey into Spain. His affection for the Infanta, being only a creation of his imagination, was easily transferred, when the Spanish match proved impossible, to Henrietta Maria of France, who was destined to play the part of his evil genius. There was much that was attractive in Henrietta Maria, but her lightness of character and her French training and sympathies made her influence a dangerous one, and Charles' affection for her led him astray at more than one crisis of his life. She could never understand that the circumstances of the English throne were entirely different from those of the French,



and could never see that ties of loyalty to her husband's country forbade her to apply to France for help in difficulties between the King and his subjects.



CHARLES I.

Charles had an unfortunate inheritance from his father. England had engaged herself in war to help the Elector Frederick, but there was no army and no

fleet, and when Parliament met it was determined to make the need of money for the war a means of obtaining concessions from the King on points of religion, and though disposed to expect good things from Charles, it was distrustful of Buckingham. Charles was determined not to yield either in religious matters or in his support of Buckingham, and when the Commons voted tonnage and poundage for one year only, instead, as was usual, for the life of the Sovereign, Charles felt he had been insulted, dissolved the Parliament before the grant was finally made, and proceeded to collect tonnage and poundage by right of custom. This, though declared later by the judges to be no infringement of actual law, was an attack upon the Commons' right to control taxation, and the Second Parliament complained of the collection of tonnage and poundage, and the mismanagement of Buckingham, and called to their bar two clergymen, Mainwaring and Montague, for preaching what was known as Arminianism, that is, anti-Calvinistic teaching. Charles, with more chivalry than policy, put himself in front of his servants and again dissolved Parliament before it had granted money for the war. The Petition of Right, presented by the next Parliament, did not really alter the position of things, for when the Commons had obtained Charles' consent to the principle that taxes were only to be levied by Parliament they still refused to vote the taxes till they should be satisfied on the religious question. Charles would not give way on this point, and as Parliament granted no money he proceeded to levy taxes by his prerogative. He argued that it was certainly better that taxes should be levied by law, according to the Petition of Right, but since the Parliament refused to put the law in motion the King must fall back upon the

use of the Prerogative, or sovereign power. The answer of the Commons was that the object of refusing the taxes was to make the King give way on questions of



*James Hume R*

religion, which, in effect, was to claim the right to be supreme in the State. The Protestation of 1629 brought matters to a crisis, and Charles dissolved the

Parliament, determined to do without one and to show the nation what Kingly government meant. The government for the next eleven years was undoubtedly in many ways of the most enlightened kind. The country became increasingly prosperous; Weston, the Lord Treasurer, improved the trade; Laud fostered education; the King enriched England with art treasures, and encouraged the growth of colonies; the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court kept down powerful oppressors. But there were men in England who thought that order and prosperity were dearly bought at the price of Parliamentary Government. There was, however, little organized resistance to the Government, except the famous refusal of John Hampden to pay the twenty shillings levied upon him for *Ship Money*.

The navies of France and Holland had lately been growing in size and strength, and it was an undoubted fact that if England was to keep her position among the nations, she must also have a navy. In the days of the Plantagenet Kings coast towns had been required to provide ships of war when they were needed; there was nothing illegal in the present demand for ships. What was new was that Charles allowed the towns to pay money instead of providing ships; that he levied the tax upon inland towns as well as sea-ports, and that there was no actual war to explain the need of ships. Hampden refused to pay this 'ship money' on purpose to bring the matter before a court of law, and Charles was so sure of his right that he was quite ready to have it challenged. Hampden's case was ably defended by the lawyer Oliver St. John, who accepted the previous decision of the judges that inland towns, since they shared the benefit of security from invasion, should

share the burden of defence, but argued that where the danger was not so pressing as to call for immediate action 'it was against the fundamental law of the land for the demand to be made except through Parliament.' Seven of the twelve Judges voted in favour of the King, but St. John's arguments soon spread abroad, and people suspected the judges of having given their judgment to gain the King's favour.



It was from Scotland that the pressure came which at last obliged Charles to call a Parliament. James and Charles by continued efforts had succeeded in restoring Bishops to Scotland, but when Charles tried to introduce a liturgy compiled by Laud, the Scotch people rose in rebellion and began what is known as the 'First Bishops' War.' Charles marched north with his army, but was unwilling to fight and concluded the Pacification of Berwick, referring the disputed points to a Scotch Parliament. But as this



Parliament at once abolished Episcopacy, Charles determined to renew the war, and summoned Strafford to his aid. He advised him to call a Parliament, trusting to English patriotism to create a feeling of enthusiasm for the war. But the King and Parliament at once quarrelled as to the amount of money to be voted, and this *Short Parliament* was hastily dissolved, to the joy of the Opposition and the dismay of Strafford, who saw that the King had thrown away his only chance of working with a Parliament. Charles was now left to face the Scotch, who had advanced into England as far as Ripon, with no money, and an army which was largely in sympathy with the invaders. He was obliged to make the Treaty of Ripon and to call the *Long Parliament*, with full knowledge that he would have to make concessions.

The first thing demanded of him was that he should sign away the life of Strafford. Torn in an agony of mind between his love for his wife, whom the Commons threatened to impeach, and his loyalty to his faithful servant, Charles asked advice from the Bishops near him. Bishop Juxon bade him obey his conscience, but Bishop Williams drew a distinction between the King's public and private conscience, and when Strafford himself sent him a message that he was not to hesitate to give him up if it were for the public good, Charles yielded; and in signing Strafford's death warrant, he signed his own.

After this Charles gave way on every point to the demands of Parliament, without, however, being able to inspire confidence in his promises. He, too, felt the most profound distrust of Pym, and saw that he would soon have to deal with an attempt to overthrow Episcopacy, and on his journey to Scotland in 1641 he



formed plans, first, for getting the help of Presbyterians in Scotland, then of Roman Catholics in Ireland, for the defence of the Church in England. Pym and his followers had some dim knowledge of these projects, and were ready to believe Charles to be implicated in the 'Incident,' a plot to murder the leaders in the Scotch Parliament, and in the Irish Rebellion, which now broke out. The *Grand Remonstrance* was the result of these fears and for a time the feeling of the nation turned in Charles' favour. Men thought that the Opposition had gone far enough; the nation was not as Puritan as the Commons; the attack on the Bishops caused a strong feeling of disapproval, and even Puritan London received Charles with some enthusiasm. Charles' best plan now was to keep quiet and show himself on the side of law as against revolution; but he was no statesman; he could not see how events were moving, and the attempted arrest of the Five Members made war inevitable. The House demanded, and was refused, the command of the Militia; Charles was shut out of Hull when he went to take possession of the military stores there, and on August 22, 1642, he set up his Standard at Nottingham.

In comparing the advantages of the King and Parliament at the beginning of the war, we see that Charles had on his side most of the nobility and gentry, and the mass of the lower classes; while Parliament had chiefly the middle classes. This gave the advantage in fighting to the King; the gentlemen, used to riding and field sports, and the labourers to out-door exercise, were better material for an army than the artizans and shopmen of the towns.

The geographical division, on the other hand, was in favour of Parliament, which had the eastern and

southern counties, with London as the centre, which not only formed a more compact section but contained most of the great towns and the richer districts, in those days.

As to money, the King's supply was at first more abundant, as the nobles gave him their wealth, but that once spent could not be renewed; while the Parliament could levy taxes on the prosperous districts.

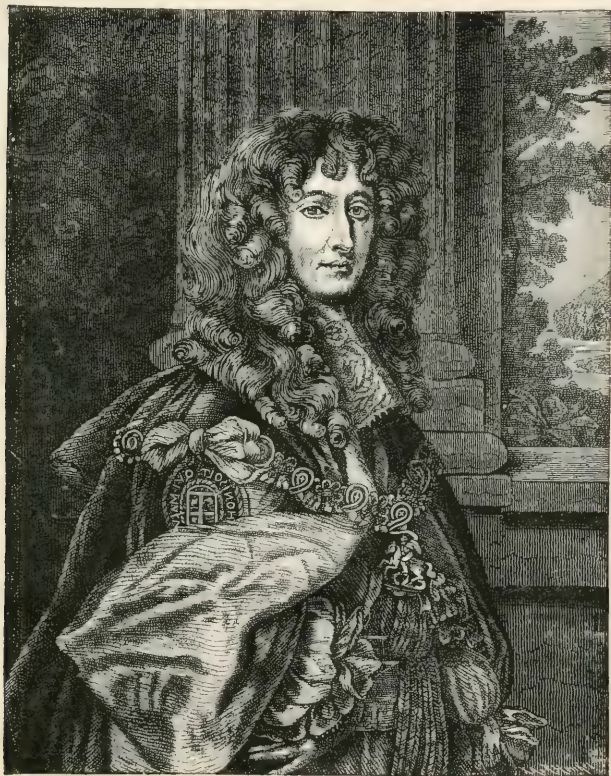
As to alliances, Charles had hope of French help, which, however, never came, and prospects of reinforcements from his army in Ireland, while Parliament could, and in 1643 did, obtain help from Scotland, though the Marquis of Montrose raised an army on the King's side in Scotland, which was for a time brilliantly successful.

The King's army was at first better officered. He himself was no mean general; his brilliant, though rash and impulsive nephew Prince Rupert did good work for him, and Sir Ralph Hopton in Cornwall and Newcastle in the north proved more than a match for their opponents. On the Parliament side Essex and Manchester were slow and half-hearted, and at first the great genius of Cromwell, which was at last to turn the fate of the war, was in the background.

The greatest advantage, however, that the King had was in the spirit of his army. 'Church and King' was a watchword which everyone could understand and one which could inspire enthusiasm, while the abstract principle of resistance to authority was not so easy to grasp as a motive, and in those who did realize its meaning, did not tend to encourage the spirit of ready obedience to the leaders.

If a line be drawn from Hull, through Newark, Leicester, Reading and Southampton, the country

south and east may be counted as mainly on the side of Parliament ; while the land north and west of a line drawn through York, Manchester, Stafford, Gloucester,



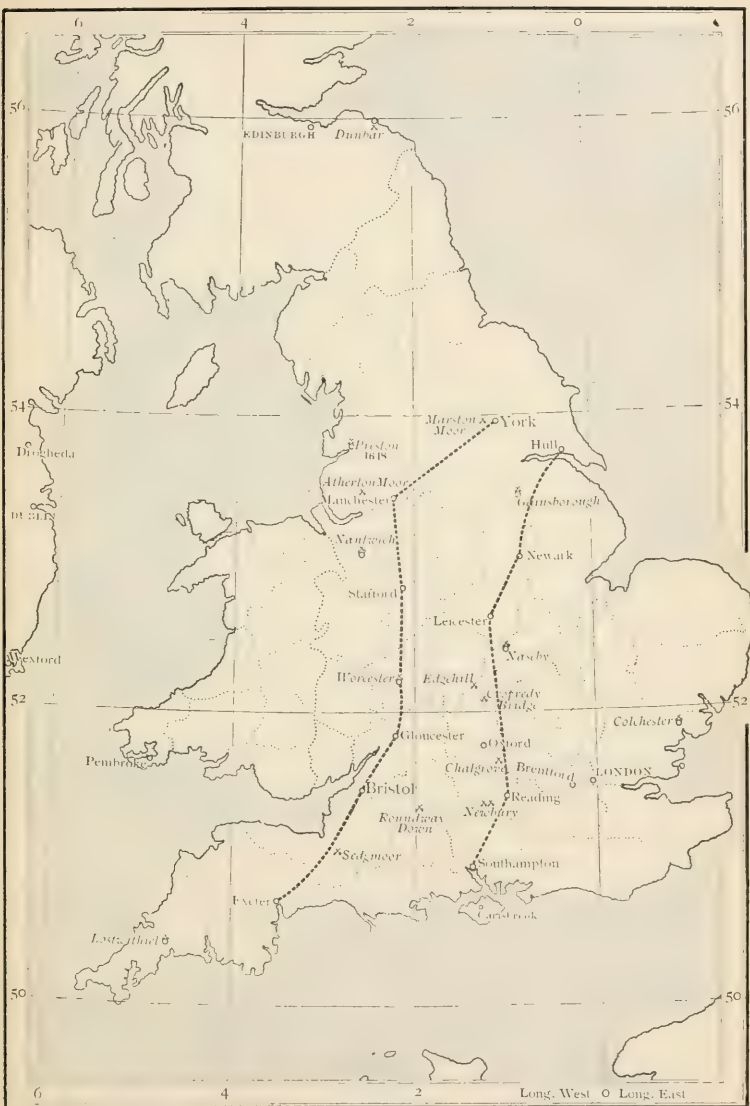
PRINCE RUPERT.

and Bristol to Exeter, was for the King : between these two lines was the chief fighting ground. The first engagement was at Edgehill, where Essex tried, but

failed, to prevent the King's approach towards London. Charles reached Brentford, causing a panic in the city, but fell back upon Oxford, which he made his headquarters during the war, and from which he now attempted negotiations which failed. In the next year the war went almost entirely in the King's favour: Hampden's clear judgment was lost to the Parliament by his death at Chalgrove Field: the Parliamentary army under Fairfax was completely beaten at Atherton Moor in Yorkshire, by Newcastle, who advanced into Lincolnshire, where he was stopped for a time at Gainsborough by Cromwell; and Rupert, having defeated Waller at Roundway Down, took the port of Bristol, from which the King could communicate with Ireland and the Continent. Essex, however, raised the siege of Gloucester, the capture of which would have put the whole of the west in the King's hands, and would have allowed him to join with Newcastle from the north and Rupert from Cornwall to sweep the Parliamentary forces towards London. The battle of Newbury was a fruitless attempt to cut off Essex' return to London.

In the next year the Irish forces coming to the help of the King were cut to pieces by Fairfax at Nantwich, and the Scotch army which the Parliament had called to its help, turned the fortunes of the day in favour of the Parliament at Marston Moor, where Rupert's rashness lost the north for the King. Otherwise the royal cause prospered: Essex, trying to besiege the King in Oxford, was driven off and defeated at Cropredy Bridge; and later in the year was compelled to surrender all his infantry at Lostwithiel, and in the second battle of Newbury failed to prevent the King's return to Oxford.

The next year began with negotiations at Uxbridge,





which came to nothing: and the royal cause was ruined by the defeat of the King at Naseby in June, and the surrender of Bristol in September. In the next year Oxford surrendered, and the King gave himself up to the Scotch army at Newark.

In this second stage of the war, statesmanship, the power of judging the strength and direction of political forces, was the quality most needed, and in that Charles was lacking. There were three parties which he thought he could play one against the other: the Scotch, the Parliament and the army. If he could get the Scotch army on his side he might take advantage of the ever-increasing division between the army and the Parliament to step in between them. But at present the Scotch would not hear of any conditions but the establishment of Presbyterianism, against which Charles' whole being was set. 'There are three things,' he said, 'that I will not part with, the Church, my crown, and my friends, and you will have much ado to get them from me.' So the Scotch handed the King over to Parliament and went home with part of the money owed to them.

Now Charles had two forces to reckon with, the Parliament, which was Presbyterian and jealous of the army, and the army, which was Independent, and increasingly republican, and determined not to disband without the arrears of its pay.

Charles was soon removed from the care of Parliament at Holmby House by a band of soldiers sent to take him first to Newmarket, then to Hampton Court, where he was treated with less strictness and for the first time allowed the ministry of his own chaplains and the use of the Prayer-Book. Here he lived not unhappily, with his favourite books, Shakespeare, Hooker,



Tasso, and Bishop Andrewes' sermons, and hopeful of the result of his negotiations with the Scotch, the French and the Dutch. The Scotch demanded the establishment of Presbyterianism for three years and the control of the army by Parliament for ten, and Charles was willing to agree to these terms if he could get nothing better, in the confidence that at the end of the three years Episcopacy would be only more firmly established. But better terms were offered by the officers of the army in the 'Heads of Proposals,' which demanded liberty for all forms of religion, biennial Parliaments, an extended suffrage, and the control of the Government by a Council of State. These terms Charles would gladly have accepted, if he had not buoyed himself up with the hope that he would soon be in a position, by foreign help, to reject all terms, and if he had been sure that the officers had the power to enforce this arrangement upon the great body of the army, which is very doubtful. For within three months the extreme party in the army presented the officers with the 'Agreement of the People,' a scheme of government which found no place at all for a King. Fearing the growth of this republican spirit, Charles tried to escape, but was taken and imprisoned much more strictly in Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight: from thence he renewed his negotiations with the Scotch, who entered into the 'Engagement,' demanding, as before, the establishment of Presbyterianism for three years, but leaving to Charles the appointment of ministers and the veto on Acts of Parliament. To carry out this 'Engagement' a Scotch army under Hamilton entered England, but was defeated by Cromwell at Preston, while Fairfax put down a Royalist rising in the home counties.



CARISBROOKE CASTLE.

Charles was now left face to face with his enemies. Parliament, 'purged' by a division of the army under Colonel Pride of all members inclined to treat with Charles, was wholly at the command of the army, whose Council met to decide on the fate of the King. A small majority voted to spare his life: and Lord Denbigh was sent to offer him life on the condition that he would give up the Church and the control of Parliament. Charles, hearing the terms, refused even to see the messenger: there was no evasion now, no intrigue. To the main principle of his life Charles was absolutely true: when the choice was clear between death and the abandonment of the Church he deliberately chose death. Brought up to London to be tried before the 'High Court of Justice,' formed of the most extreme men in the army and the Parliament, he entirely refused to recognise its jurisdiction, and a sentence of death was quickly passed upon him. To attend him during the two days allowed to him to prepare for death, he had his gentleman of the bedchamber and that Bishop Juxon who had bidden him follow his conscience in the matter of signing Strafford's death warrant. On the morning of Monday, January 30, the lesson for the day, which Charles preferred before one of his own choice, was the story of the Passion of Christ, which gave him great comfort, and it was with entire confidence that he passed through the windows of his palace in Whitehall on to the scaffold, and spoke to his people assembled to see him die.

'He nothing common did, or mean,  
Upon that memorable scene,  
But with his keener eye  
The axe's edge did try

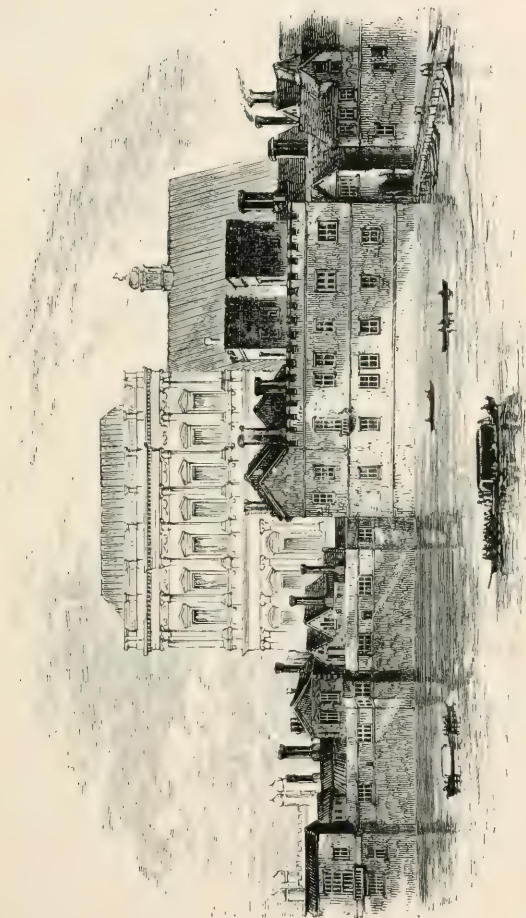
Nor called the gods with vulgar spite  
To vindicate his helpless right,  
But bowed his comely head  
Down, as upon a bed.'

His friends were allowed to bury his body in St. George's Chapel with the simple inscription on the coffin, 'King Charles, 1648,' but they were not allowed to use the Burial Service of the Prayer-Book.

King Charles' words to the people before his death contain his theory of Government. 'For the people—and truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whomsoever, but I must tell you their liberty and freedom consists in having government in those laws by which their life and goods may be most their own. It is not having a share in the government, sirs; that is nothing pertaining to them.'

Charles' conception of the Kingship was a noble one. His prerogative he held to be a trust from God to be used for the good of the nation, for which he must give account to God alone, and to yield it to Parliament would have been in his eyes not merely or chiefly a loss of his own dignity, but the desertion of a sacred trust. Unhappily he was wanting in the power of imagination through which he could attain sympathy with his people, and, secure in his own good intentions, he never could understand opposition or see the need of explaining his point of view. He set himself one great purpose, to defend the Church as he had received it.

'I am resolved by the grace of God to die in the maintenance of it' he had said, without perhaps realizing at the time how literally his words would be fulfilled. To this great purpose he was completely true; to the last he might have saved his life if he



WHITEHALL.

would have been willing to sacrifice the Church. But in his *means* he was not so true; 'the end justifies the means' was a widely received maxim at the time and did not tend to raise the standard of truthfulness. Moreover, even before the Civil War broke out, Charles was too apt to look upon his Parliament as an adversary with whom he had to use diplomacy, rather than a subject to be won by confidence and fair dealing, and after war had begun he thought himself perfectly justified in deceiving his opponents.

Whether Charles was right in his view of Government; whether the liberties of the people were safer under their hereditary Kings or in the hands of those who put Charles to death for holding to this theory of government, can best be seen from the history of the eleven years which followed his execution.

*Letter from King Charles I. to Queen Henrietta Maria.*

'OXFORD,  
'February 19, 164<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub>.

'DEAR HEART,

'Albeit that my personal danger must of necessity precede thine, yet thy safety seems hazarded by my resolution concerning church government. I am doubly grieved to differ with thee in opinion, though I am confident that my judgment, not love, is censured by thee for it. But I hope whatsoever thou mayest wish, thou wilt not blame me at all, if thou rightly understand the state of the question. For I assure thee, I put little or no difference between setting up the Presbyterian gover(n)ment, or submitting to the Church of Rome. Therefore make the case thine own. With what patience wouldst thou give ear to him who should



persuade thee, for worldly respects, to leave the communion of the Roman Church for any other? Indeed, sweetheart, this is my case; for, suppose my concession in this should prove but temporary, it may palliate though not excuse my sin. But it is strange to me how that can be imagined, not remembering any example that concessions in this kind have been recalled, which in this case is more unlikely, (if not impossible) than any other, because the means of recovering it is destroyed in the first minute of yielding, it being not only a condition for my assistance, but likewise all the ecclesiastical power so put in their hands, who are irreconcilable enemies to that Government which I contend for, as I shall never be able to master. I must confess, to my shame and grief, that heretofore I have for public respects (yet I believe, if thy personal safety had not been at stake, I might have hazarded the rest) yielded unto those things which were no less against my conscience than this, for which I have been so deservedly punished, that a relapse now would be insufferable, and I am most confident that God hath so favoured my hearty (tho' weak) repentance, that He will be glorified, either by relieving me out of these distresses (which I may humbly hope for, tho' not presume upon) or in my gallant sufferings for so good a cause, which to eschew by any mean submission cannot but draw God's further justice upon me, both in this and the next world. But let not this sad discourse trouble thee (for, as thou art free from my faults, so doubtless God hath blessings in store for thee), it being only a necessary freedom to shew thee, that no slight cause can make me deny to do what thou desirest who am eternally thine

‘CHARLES R.’

## OLIVER CROMWELL, THE INDEPENDENT.

OLIVER CROMWELL belonged to a Huntingdon family which in past days had been more prosperous than it had become in his generation. 'By birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity,' he says of himself. At home, at the Huntingdon Grammar School, and at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, he was under Puritan influences, and learned the Puritan habit of clothing his thoughts in scriptural language. He left Cambridge after one year's stay, and seems to have studied law for a time in London, where he met and married Elizabeth Bourchier, daughter of a city merchant. Early in life he experienced a 'sensible conversion,' or a sudden awakening to the reality of sin. He speaks of himself later as having 'lived in darkness,' which need not mean anything more than the Puritan way of speaking of the thoughtlessness of youth; there is no reason for thinking that he was guilty of any gross vice. We find records of him both at Huntingdon, and at S. Ives, where he went to live soon after his marriage, as taking the part of the poor against the rich in respect of the use of common land. The first Parliament in which he sat was that which passed the Petition of Right: in which all we hear of him is his complaint that Dr. Beard, his old schoolmaster, was prohibited from preaching against Popery.



[Walker and Cockerell.

*Cromwell*



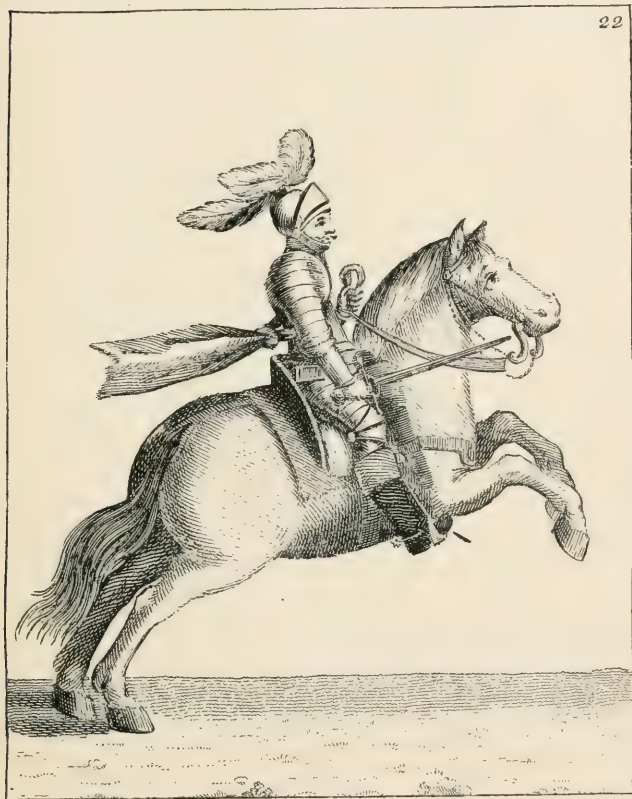
*From a painting in the National Portrait Gallery.*

He sat in the 'Short' Parliament for the borough of Cambridge, and his picture is drawn for us at this time by a courtier, who describes him as 'very ordinarily appavelled, in a plain cloth country suit, made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean; his stature of good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour.'

In the Long Parliament Cromwell became more prominent and we find his name on eighteen separate committees for the consideration of grievances. He was eager for the passing of the Root and Branch Bill, and of the Grand Remonstrance, as to which he said to Falkland, 'If the Remonstrance had been rejected I would have sold all I had next morning and never have seen England again.' 'So near,' says Clarendon grimly, 'was England to her deliverance.'

When the war broke out Cromwell raised a troop of horse, and with the keen eye of a military genius he saw from the first the weak spot in the Parliamentary army—the want of spirit and organization among the men. 'Your troops,' he said to Hampden, 'are most of them old decayed serving men and tapsters and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons and persons of quality. Do you think the spirit of such base and mean men will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or else you will be beaten still.' Convinced of this Cromwell worked in the Eastern Association to bring his own regiment under an iron discipline, choosing for it the extreme men who were most likely to catch the fire of en-

thusiasm, men of fanatic zeal for religion, not necessarily Presbyterians, but 'such as had the greatest antipathy to Popery and tyranny.'



HORSEMAN.

The value of this discipline was proved at Marston Moor. Here Rupert, opposed to Cromwell, made his famous cavalry charge before which even Cromwell's

Ironsides gave way ; but, when the Scotch troops came to the rescue Cromwell was able to make his retreating men face about, and when they had in turn driven Rupert to flight, he restrained them from that mistake of pursuing the enemy too far, which had twice turned victory into defeat for Rupert, and brought them to the rescue of Fairfax on the left and the infantry in the centre. Cromwell's account of this battle was : ' It had all the evidences of a crowning victory, obtained by the LORD's blessing on the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy : The left wing on which I commanded, being our own horse, *saving a few Scots in our rear*, beat all the Prince's horse, and God made them stubble to our swords. Give glory, all the glory, to God.' Of which account there are two things to be said : first, that the large body of Scotch troops which recalled Cromwell's men from flight, have scant justice done to them : and secondly, that in this, as in all Cromwell's despatches, although he adjures the Parliament ' to give glory to God,' he yet is careful to explain clearly any reasons there may be for giving glory to Cromwell.

As the war went on another fact became clear to Cromwell ; that the Generals Essex and Manchester were incompetent, not so much from want of military skill as because they were half-hearted : they did not want to beat the King thoroughly, but only to bring him to the point of accepting terms. At length, after the second battle of Newbury, which, Cromwell declared, might have been made a decided victory if Manchester had supported Essex, he brought definite charges of incompetence against Manchester, and by means of a measure, called the Self-Denying Ordinance, which obliged all members of either House of Parliament to



resign their commissions within forty days, the army was transferred to the command of Fairfax as General-in-Chief, the post of Lieutenant-General, with command of the Horse, being reserved, rightly, for Cromwell. The result of this 'New Model' army was at once seen in the victory at Naseby, which brought the war to an end for a time.

Now began the struggle between the army and the Parliament, the issue of which was the turning-point in Cromwell's life. The Parliament was afraid of the army and wished to get rid of it, and proposed that it should be disbanded, except for some regiments which were to go to Ireland. The army, on the other hand, was determined to have the fruits of the victory which it had won. Composed chiefly of 'sectaries,' men of all kinds of religious opinion, it was not prepared to tolerate the establishment of a Presbyterian tyranny, and having gained possession of the King's person, it turned out of the House eleven leading Presbyterian members and obliged the Parliament to yield to superior physical force.

Cromwell's course in this struggle proves the truth of his own words. 'No man rises so high as he who knows not whither he is going.' At first he fell under the spell of the King's gracious presence and declared that he was 'the uprightest and most conscientious man of the three Kingdoms.' The Heads of Proposals embody probably Cromwell's view of a wise settlement, but the body of the army was much more revolutionary than the officers, and it is not likely that they would have agreed to such terms. Organizing themselves by means of two 'agitators' or agents, in each regiment, they put forth 'the Case of the Army truly stated,' claiming that 'all power is originally and essen-

tially in the whole body of the people of this nation,' and drew up the 'Agreement of the People,' which proposed government by 'a single House of Parliament alone.' This Cromwell vigorously opposed in a speech of three hours long in praise of monarchy. This was in October, 1647. In November a mutiny, headed by the levellers, was promptly and sternly put down by Cromwell, and the ringleaders condemned to death. But at the same time he wrote to the King's agent telling him 'that he would serve the King's Majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin, but desired that he would not expect that he should perish for his sake.' In February next year he joined in voting that 'No addresses' should henceforth be offered to the King. In April, just before he went north to deal with the Scotch invasion, he held a meeting of the leaders of the army in which it was resolved 'that it was our duty if ever the LORD brought us back in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood he has shed and the mischief he has done.' Putting down on his way a rising in Wales, Cromwell marched against Hamilton, easily defeated him at Preston, and sent back a despatch to Parliament giving details of the victory, which was 'nothing but the hand of God,' and while declaring 'it is not fit for me to give advice,' he yet proceeds to give the very forcible advice that 'they that are incapable and will not leave troubling the land may speedily be destroyed out of the land.' Later in the same month he repudiated the notion of good to be expected from Charles: 'Good by this man, against whom the Lord has witnessed and whom thou knowest!' He took little part in the events which now hurried on the final catastrophe, but spoke in the House on the

question of appointing a High Court of Justice. 'If any man whatsoever hath carried on the design of deposing the King and disinheriting his posterity, or if any man had yet such a design he should be the greatest rebel and traitor in the world, but since the Providence of God and Necessity hath cast this upon us I shall pray God to bless our counsels, though I be not provided on the sudden to give you counsel.' Two days later he was saying 'I tell you we will cut off his head with the crown upon it,' and on January 27, 1649, he sat as a member of the body which voted the King's death.

Much work now lay before Cromwell. The Government was in the hands of the Commons, which at once decreed the abolition

of the House of Lords and entrusted Cromwell with the work which Fairfax refused, of putting down the royalist risings in Ireland and Scotland.

He went first to Ireland, where Dublin was almost the only place holding for the Parliament. He had no scruples to hinder his military effectiveness. To protect



MUSKETEER.

Dublin from the north he first attacked Drogheda, whose garrison, refusing to surrender, he put ruthlessly to the sword, justifying his action on the plea that harsh measures would save future bloodshed, and describing it as 'a righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood.' This and a similar wholesale slaughter at Wexford he looked upon as a righteous act of ven-

geance for the massacres of the late rebellion. The measures were effective at the time, and, as Ireland was cowed into submission, Cromwell could turn his attention to Scotland. Here he was faced by a really great general, David Leslie, with a larger army than his own. For once Cromwell was outdone in strategy, and he allowed Leslie to shut him in between his army and the sea at Dunbar. But Leslie threw away his advantage by moving down from the hills to the attack, and with the cry 'Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered,' Cromwell led on his army to break up the Scotch lines. Edinburgh soon fell, and Cromwell marched against Leslie at Stirling and forced



PIKEMAN.

him down into England, where he trusted rightly that the royal cause would fail to gain adherents owing to the Scotch alliance. Overtaking the royal forces at Worcester on September 3, one year after the battle of Dunbar, he won the 'crowning mercy' by superior numbers and tactics combined.

And now Cromwell, 'crowned with Worcester's

laureate wreath,' had to listen to the voice that warned him

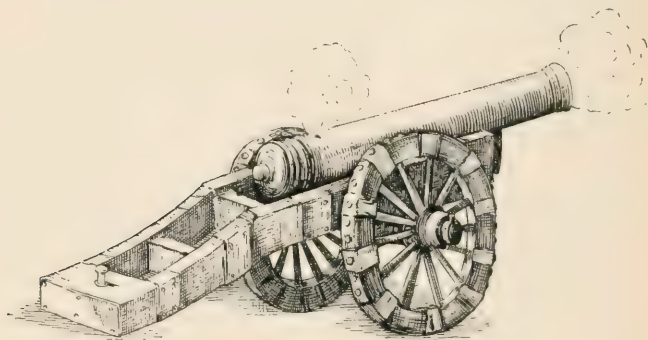
' Much remains

To conquer still: peace hath her victories  
No less renowned than war: new foes arise,  
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains:  
Help us to save free conscience from the paw  
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.'

The remnant of the Long Parliament, now less than ever representative of the nation, was at length preparing to yield to the demand of the army that it should dissolve itself, but was taking measures to secure that all its members should sit as a matter of course in the new Parliament. Cromwell, hurrying down to the House, sat for a while in his place in silence; then rose, and in an impassioned speech charged the House as a body, and several members by name, with corruption; and crying 'I will put an end to your prating. You are no Parliament,' he bade Harrison call in his troopers, who were ready in waiting, to clear the House. To Vane's remonstrance, 'This is not honest—yea, it is against morality and common honesty,' his only reply was, 'The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane.' Before an armed force the members were helpless, and the last vestige of the English Constitution disappeared when Cromwell, having seen the House emptied, 'locked the door and put the key in his pocket.'

England now was without a Government, except for a council of officers with whom all power lay. These, led by Cromwell, called together by name an assembly of 'the godly,' which takes its name of 'Barebone's Parliament' from one of its members. Of this body, to which was entrusted the duty of drawing up a new Constitution, Cromwell said, 'I am more troubled now

with the fool than with the knave,' and the zealous but misguided assembly was told that it must resign its powers into Cromwell's hands. The officers having now to construct a Constitution from the beginning, drew up the 'Instrument of Government' making Cromwell Lord Protector for life, to be assisted by a Council of State whose members were also appointed for life. The power of making laws was left to a Parliament of one House, to be elected on an enlarged franchise, and



CANNON.

to sit for at least five months together each year. The Protector was not to have the power to reject any bill passed by this Parliament, though it could not become law until twenty days had passed, during which he could make objections to it. Though no new taxes were to be levied without the consent of Parliament, a revenue ample enough for times of peace, besides a sum for keeping up the navy, and an army of 30,000 men was assigned to the Protector to be raised 'by ways and means to be agreed upon by the Protector and the



Council.' Religious liberty was to be allowed to all but 'Papists or Prelatists.'

To this form of government there were three sets of opponents. The royalists of course were hostile; the 'Fifth Monarchy' men, chiefly members of the army, still yearned for the 'reign of the Saints'; and men such as Vane and Bradshaw, who had been the leaders in putting the King to death, in the hope of establishing the supremacy of Parliament, were dismayed at the power given to the Protector.

Before the Parliament met, Cromwell had laid down the lines of his foreign policy. He had inherited from the Long Parliament a war with the Dutch, to enforce the 'Navigation Act' asserting England's supremacy in the narrow seas. Blake and Monk had won victories over Van Tromp which enabled Cromwell to bring the war to an end by a very favourable peace. But his own schemes combined two great ideas: the support of Protestantism and the extension of English trade. His views were those of an Elizabethan statesman: he believed that the Protestant powers of Europe were enthusiastic in defence of Protestantism, and was eager to make a great European combination against the Roman Catholic powers. He also retained the Elizabethan idea that it was quite possible to carry on warfare against Spain in the western seas without war being declared between the two nations. In both of these ideas he was behind his time; the Protestant powers, especially Sweden, made use of his religious fervour to gain their own private ends; and he was led by his hostility to Spain into an alliance with France which helped to increase the power of that country, which was soon to become a danger to all Europe. His conquest of Dunkirk in the Spanish

Netherlands gave us a possession which was at once a source of irritation to Spain and a menace to France. But his spirited defence of the persecuted Vaudois, and his successful efforts to put down piracy in the Mediter-



SHIP OF THE PERIOD.

anean made the name of England feared throughout Europe—it was not till later that the faults of his policy became evident. These foreign operations obliged him to keep up an army of 57,000 instead of the 30,000

allowed by the Instrument of Government, and the vote on this excess in expenditure was the chief of several causes of dispute between the Protector and his first Parliament, which, though it had been carefully packed, contained so many elements of opposition that Cromwell dissolved it after five *lunar* months, bitterly complaining that he was not trusted.

When the next Parliament met ninety-three of the members were excluded, some for royalist and some for republican sympathies. But the feeling of those who remained was in favour of a Parliamentary rather than a military government; they complained of the tax of 10 per cent. on royalists; of the system by which England had been divided into districts presided over by Major-Generals to keep down the royalists and to enforce 'godliness' among ministers. However, the brilliant success of the fleet in the West Indies made them willing to grant the money needed for the war, and when a plot to murder Cromwell was discovered, they took measures to keep him in power by drawing up a new Constitution, known as the 'Humble Petition and Advice,' in which Cromwell was asked to take the title of King, with a right to name his successor, and to nominate a House of Lords. Cromwell seems to have had long in his mind the question of the kingly title. 'What if a man should take upon him to be King?' he had asked the lawyer Whitelock in 1653, and now he may have thought that perhaps the nation would settle down more quietly under a ruler whose title was a familiar one. Finding, however, that the feeling of the officers was strongly against it, he refused the title, holding it 'but a feather in his cap,' but agreed to all the other articles of the 'Petition and Advice.'

The new House of Lords soon proved a ground of quarrel, and Cromwell dissolved his second Parliament in 1658, tacitly admitting that his attempt at Parliamentary government had been a failure.

His years were drawing to a close. Constant danger of assassination, the death of his best-loved daughter, difficulties in raising money for his troops, the alienation of many of his friends, and the failure of his attempts to govern with a Parliament, combined with religious depression to darken his last days. He died on September 3, 1658, the anniversary of the victories of Dunbar and Worcester.

There is a strong pathos in Cromwell's failure to realize the ideal of government, which, it seems clear, he would willingly have exercised according to constitutional forms, but constitutional rule cannot be based on force. The supreme power, which Charles had claimed for the King and Pym had claimed for the Parliament, was, after the execution of the King and the overthrow of the Long Parliament, lodged with the army, and Cromwell had found that he could only exercise it as far as he was supported by the army. He had struggled against the recognition of this fact: the Government nearest to his ideal was that of Elizabeth, strong and national, but that had been based on the support of the nation, and Cromwell had found himself obliged to choose between letting the power fall from his hands—which would have meant either anarchy or the restoration of the King—or to enforce his rule by the fear of the army. It was not only royalists or 'malignants,' who opposed him; no one complained when they were transported to the Barbadoes without a trial—some of the 'Saints' too were troublesome. Harrison, his old ally, must be imprisoned; Lilburne, the Leveller, even

though twice acquitted when brought to trial, must be kept in prison to keep him out of mischief; the judges who refuse to find Royalists guilty of high treason must be dismissed from the bench; the Chief Justice must follow when he refuses to force a man to pay taxes not granted by Parliament. Strangely enough Cromwell was met by cases exactly like those which had stirred the opposition of Eliot and Pym and Hampden, and was obliged to take Charles' own measures against them. In religious matters it was the same. Under Laud there had been freedom of thought and of worship within the bounds of the English Church: under Cromwell it was freedom within the bounds of Puritanism. 'I had rather that Mahometism were permitted amongst us than that one of God's children be persecuted,' he had declared passionately, but the 'Prelatists and Papists,' that is, more than half the nation, were not to be reckoned as God's children; Jews were after a time admitted to the rank, and the claims of the Society of Friends were considered, and rejected, against Cromwell's personal wish. Great man as he was, Cromwell could not undo history.

'No man rises so high as he who knows not whither he is going.' These, Cromwell's own words, may be taken as the motto of his life. Greater than King Charles in most ways, he was yet weak where Charles was strong. There was no fixed goal towards which his life's aim was directed; he waited on events and let them decide his course, which therefore was crooked and contradictory; and while he professed, and probably believed, that he was waiting on the will of God, he was a prey to that subtle form of self-deception which makes a man persuade himself that whatever he wants strongly is the will of God. Therefore it was that the man who

took up arms for civil and religious liberty established a military despotism ; therefore it was too that his life was so strangely ineffective. He has left no mark upon the English Constitution ; his contribution to our foreign policy was disastrous in its after effects ; no building or institution dates its rise from him, though churches and cathedrals throughout the Eastern counties bear marks of his destructive agency. The measure of his power is the force of the reaction by which, as soon as his iron grasp was loosed by death, the nation swung round to the old order of things.

TO THE LORD GENERAL CROMWELL.

(1652.)

CROMWELL, our chief of men, who through a cloud  
Not of war only, but detractions rude,  
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,  
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed,  
And on the neck of crownèd Fortune proud  
Hast rear'd God's trophies, and his work pursued,  
While Darwen stream with blood of Scots imbrued,  
And Dunbar field resounds thy praises loud,  
And Worcester's laureate wreath. Yet much remains  
To conquer still ; peace hath her victories  
No less renowned than war : new foes arise,  
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains :  
Help us to save free conscience from the paw  
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.

MILTON.



## ON THE LATE MASSACRE IN PIEDMONT.

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones  
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold ;  
Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old,  
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,  
Forget not : in thy book record their groans  
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold  
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese that rolled  
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans  
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they  
To Heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow  
O'er all th' Italian fields, where still doth sway  
The triple tyrant ; that from these may grow  
A hundred fold, who having learn'd thy way  
Early may fly the Babylonian woe.

MILTON.

*From Cromwell's Speech to the Parliament, 1657.*

'MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this Parliament a blessing; and, the Lord be my witness, I desired the carrying on the Affairs of the Nation to these ends ! The blessing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was mercy, truth, righteousness and peace,—which I desired might be improved. That which brought me into the capacity I now stand in was the Petition and Advice given me by you ; who, in reference to the ancient Constitution did draw me to accept the place of Protector. There is not a man living can say I sought it ; no, not a man nor woman treading upon English ground. But contemplating the sad condition of these

Nations, relieved from an intestine War into a six or seven years Peace, I did think the Nation happy therein! But to be petitioned thereunto, and advised by you to undertake such a Government, a burden too heavy for any creature; and this to be done by the House that then had the Legislative capacity: certainly I did look that the same men who made the Frame should make it good unto me! I can say in the presence of God, in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth,—I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than undertaken such a Government as this. But undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you, I did look that you who had offered it unto me should make it good. . . .

‘God is my witness; I speak it; it is evident to all the world and people living, That a new business hath been seeking in the Army against this actual Settlement made by your consent. I do not speak to these Gentlemen or Lords, or whatsoever you will call them; I speak not this to them, but to *you*.

‘You advised me to come into this place, to be in a capacity by your Advice. Yet instead of owning a thing, some must have I know not what;—and you have not only disjointed yourselves but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more confusion in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the rising of the last Session to this day. Through the intention of devising a Commonwealth again! That some people might be the men that might rule all! And they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that thing. And hath that man been “true to this Nation,” whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate? These

designs have been made among the Army, to break and divide us. I speak this in the presence of some of the Army: That these things have not been according to God, nor according to Truth, pretend what you will! These things tend to nothing else but the playing of the King of Scots' Game (if I may so call him); and I think myself bound before God to do what I can to prevent it. That which I told you in the Banqueting House ten days ago was true, That there are preparations of force to invade us. God is my witness, it hath been confirmed to me since, not a day ago, That the King of Scots hath an Army at the water's side, ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been eyewitnesses of it. And while it is doing, there are endeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this Town into a tumulting—what if I said, Into a rebellion! And I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me. It hath been not only your endeavour to prevent the Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about a "Commonwealth," but some of you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any Insurrection that may be made. And what is like to come upon this, the Enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion? And if this be so, I do assign "it" to this cause: Your not assenting to what you did invite me to by your Petition and Advice, as that which might prove the Settlement of the Nation. And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do dissolve this Parliament! And let God be judge between you and me!

## CLARENDON, THE FAITHFUL SERVANT.

EDWARD HYDE, of an old historic family, was educated at Oxford and bred as a lawyer, though at first literary society attracted him more than legal. He rose however in his profession, partly through having interest with Buckingham, and by the time that he took his seat in the Short Parliament was known as one of the first lawyers of the day.

Although a friend of Laud, Hyde began his Parliamentary career on the side of the Opposition, his legal mind having been offended by the proceedings of the Star Chamber and Court of the North, which were beyond the bounds of the Common Law, and his attack on the latter court gained him great popularity. He joined in the proceedings against Strafford, and it was not until the Church was attacked in the bill to remove Bishops from the House of Lords, that he began to draw away from the Opposition, and on the Root and Branch Bill, and the Grand Remonstrance he finally declared himself on the side of the King. Hyde and Falkland now became the King's chief advisers, but he did not give them his full confidence and kept them in ignorance of the plan of the attack on the five members, at which they 'were so much displeased and dejected that they were inclined never more to take upon them the care of anything to be transacted in the House, finding that they could not avoid being looked upon as

the authors of those counsels to which they were so absolute strangers, and which they so perfectly detested . . . but they decided to remain in the King's service upon the abstracted consideration of their duty and conscience, and of the present ill condition of the King,' as Hyde tells us in his 'History of the Rebellion.'

Hyde's advice to the King was always 'to keep to the known laws of the land,' and it was confidence in this principle which drew more than half the nation to the royal side at the outbreak of the war. The extreme men in the King's circle were continually working against Hyde's influence; but the King, though he often allowed himself to be drawn aside from his counsels, recognised more and more clearly that Hyde was really the most faithful of all his advisers. 'I must make Ned Hyde Secretary of State, for the truth is I can trust no one else,' he said in a letter to the Queen. Hyde was always employed in the negotiations for peace which took place from time to time and always advised conciliatory measures. It was by his advice that Charles called a Parliament at Oxford, to show the people that the members of the Long Parliament sitting at Westminster had no right to be considered as representing the nation. In 1645 he was sent by the King to be in charge of Prince Charles in the West, and after Naseby he went with him to France to join the Queen, whose advice to her husband was to sacrifice the Church and rely upon French aid. Hyde, as a Churchman and a patriot, was opposed to both these plans, and began a course of opposition to the Queen, which made the chief difficulty of the next fourteen years of his life, during which, at the cost of his own fortune and safety, he was faithfully serving the Stuarts. He spared no efforts to save the life of the

King by appeals to Fairfax and to European powers, and after his death advised his son to go to Ireland as 'the nearest road to Whitehall,' rather than rely upon Scotch help, the offer of which was conditional on his giving up the Church. However, while Hyde was absent in Spain, trying to obtain a loan of money, Charles went to Scotland, and his cause met with a severe check at Dunbar and Worcester. Hyde rejoined him in Paris after his flight from England, and from that time till the Restoration was his most trusted adviser, in spite of the attempts of the Queen and others to discredit him, for Charles had great penetration, and realized that Hyde was his best help towards regaining the Kingdom.

When Cromwell died, Hyde's advice to Charles was 'to have a little patience and sit still till they are in blood;' and again, when Monk, at the head of the army in Scotland, came to London and declared for 'a free Parliament,' which sent him to bring back the King, Hyde advised him to commit himself to no promises, but to commend everything to the settlement of Parliament.

After the King's return to England, Hyde, now made Earl of Clarendon, remained for some years the King's most trusted minister, as Lord Chancellor. On the point of 'letting bygones be bygones,' Charles and Clarendon were agreed, but as to the settlement of religion the King's aims were wholly opposed to those of his minister. Clarendon wished to enlarge the bounds of the Church so as to include the more moderate Puritans; but he was not prepared to tolerate any dissent from such a comprehensive established Church. To Charles no measure of comprehension would be satisfactory, because none would take in the Roman



Catholics, to whom he was secretly inclined, so he wished for toleration—that is, for liberty of worship outside the Established Church. To this the Parliament would never consent; they were even more devoted to the Church than to the King, and few men could yet see that loyalty to the Church was consistent with allowing any Englishman to remain in peace outside its pale. The feeling was too strong to be resisted, and Clarendon worked with the Parliament in passing four Acts, which are sometimes called the ‘Clarendon Code.’ These were, the *Act of Uniformity*, obliging all clergy of the Church of England to make the Prayer-Book their standard of faith and worship: the *Corporation Act*, which obliged all holding office to be communicant members of the Church of England; the *Conventicle Act*, which forbade the holding of any public religious service except those in the Prayer-Book; and the *Five Mile Act*, which forbade any ejected minister or schoolmaster to live within five miles of his former church or school or any corporate town. The first two were simply regulations which any State which has an established Church has a right to make; the two latter were acts of persecution, an attack upon the individual liberty of conscience such as Laud would never have allowed.

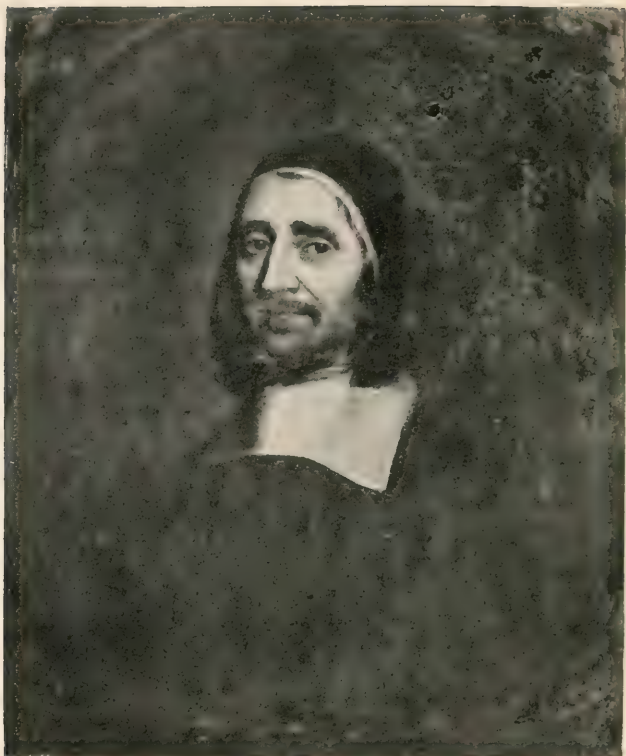
On the question of religion Clarendon found the Parliament too strong for him; on that of foreign policy both the King and the Parliament were opposed to him. He wished to keep clear of all foreign connections, but Charles determined to be on friendly terms with France, and partly for that reason, and partly for the sake of the money, he sold Dunkirk to France. Clarendon reaped the unpopularity for this act, which was done against his advice; and he was also held responsible for

the war with the Dutch to extend England's colonies and trade, although again it was the King and the Parliament who forced it on against his will. The war was brilliantly successful for a time. The fleet which had been created by Charles I. with the proceeds of the ship-money, and strengthened and organized by Cromwell's care, under the command of Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert, gained a great victory off Lowestoft; a severe, though indecisive, battle was fought for four days off the North Foreland, and a month after the English beat the Dutch off the mouth of the Thames and pursued them into the Zuyder Zee, where they burnt a town and 160 ships.

Both sides now prepared for peace, but before the treaty was signed Charles dissolved the fleet, so as to be able to use the money for its maintenance for his own private expenses, so there was no force to prevent the Dutch from sailing up the Medway and burning our ships. The treaty of Breda, though it gained for England the Dutch colonies in North America, was less favourable than it would otherwise have been, and the disgrace was felt bitterly and laid to the door of Clarendon, who incurred still more unpopularity when he opposed the demand of Parliament to control the spending of the taxes as well as the supply. The Commons then directed all their indignation against Clarendon, and prepared to impeach him. He had every right to expect that the King would stand by him, since it was in his service that he had drawn the anger of the Parliament upon himself. But Charles would never expose himself to danger to save a friend, and he was, moreover, tired of Clarendon, who, having known him as a boy, was inclined to scold him. He refused to stand between the minister and Parliament, insisted

on his resigning the Chancellorship, and hinted that it would be best for him to leave the country. When he did so, Parliament pronounced a sentence of banishment upon him, and he lived for the rest of his life (from 1667 to 1674) in exile in France. These years were employed by him in writing a 'History of the Rebellion' and his Autobiography. The former is an invaluable work, presenting the persons and events of the time as living realities, though naturally the writer is too near to the events which he records to be able to see them in their right proportion.

Hyde had a narrow mind, rather a lawyer's than a statesman's; but he was entirely upright and devoted. He cheerfully sacrificed home and fortune in the King's cause, and at the Restoration refused Charles' offer of large lands in the fen country, although his enemies afterwards accused him of having enriched himself at the expense of the country. As Chancellor of the University of Oxford he took up Laud's work and the University gratefully records his name in the Clarendon Buildings and the Clarendon Press.



RICHARD BAXTER.

*(From the original portrait in Dr. Williams' Library.)*

## BAXTER, THE NONCONFORMIST.

IT would not be easy to find a name which is more representative of all that is best in Puritan non-conformity than that of Richard Baxter. In his youth, in his country home in Shropshire, he was surrounded by

instances of the negligence and corruption of the clergy which was the main cause why the Church in the beginning of the seventeenth century had lost her hold on the more earnest and spiritually-minded men of the middle class and why, in the words of George Herbert,

‘ Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,  
Ready to pass to the American strand.’

The clergy of his own parish and of those within several miles were with no exception ignorant and careless, and often immoral men ; no sermons were preached in his parish or the next by the Vicar who held them both and who was aged and blind ; his own education, which depended upon one or other of the neighbouring clergy, was neglected by all, and he grew up with no mental training until he was sent at sixteen to a Grammar School, too late to get any grasp either of Greek or Latin. A tutor to whose care he was committed after three years, though entirely neglecting to teach him, gave him access to the great library in Ludlow Castle, of which he made such good use that in after life his mind was a storehouse of learning.

He was from boyhood a student of the Bible, and always serious in his thoughts on religion, and was much hindered by the formal way in which Bishop Martin administered confirmation to him in his fourteenth year. ‘ He asked no question, required no certificate, and hastily said as he passed three or four words which I did not understand,’ is Baxter’s own account of his confirmation.

After trying a month’s life at Court and finding it most uncongenial, Baxter became a schoolmaster and was ordained. He was called to Kidderminster to take the place of ‘ an ignorant and weak man who preached

but once a quarter, was a frequenter of alehouses and sometimes drunk,' as Vicar of the parish, and the moral reformation which followed his work showed what was the force of a genuine religious conviction and pastoral care for souls, and how much there was for the Church to do among the uneducated. The Church, as he knew it, was not doing the work, and Baxter, with other earnest and spiritually-minded men, believed that, as he put it, 'the Episcopacy of the English Church was far removed from that of the primitive Church.' There was no desire in the mind of Baxter and other Puritans of his kind to leave the Church, but they wished to reorganize its government and strengthen its discipline. The lines upon which their minds ran were narrow; they were inclined to condemn as unspiritual all that part of human nature which delights in art, and the pleasures of sense; and sincere as they were, they could not do justice to the 'godliness' of cavalier soldiers such as old Sir Jacob Astley, whose prayer before the battle of Edgehill, 'Lord Thou knowest how busy I shall be this day; if I forget Thee, do not Thou forget me,' was the outcome of as real devotion as were the prayers two hours long which Baxter sent up at night beside the camp fire, when, at the outbreak of the war, he joined the army as chaplain. Still less could Baxter admit the godliness of the 'sectaries,' men who, encouraged by Cromwell, were claiming absolute liberty for each individual to choose his own belief, and to assert his independence of any sort of Church government, either of Bishop or Synod. In the face of such lawlessness Baxter welcomed the alliance made by Parliament with the Scotch, by which, in return for military assistance, the Parliament agreed to impose the Presbyterian form of Church government upon all



England, and appointed a council of Divines, known as the Westminster Assembly, to draw up a profession of faith and a new catechism for the Church of England. Only in London and Lancashire was this settlement welcomed: the majority of men clung to the historic Church, and a growing number of others believed that

‘ New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large,’

in the words of John Milton, a Puritan of a very different type from that of Baxter. Brought up in a cultivated home, and refined by a classical education, Milton had embraced the severe moral standard of the Puritans without condemning pleasure as sinful. He had himself written masques, and expressed his love of tragedy and even of comedy of the higher kind, and far from rejecting beauty as a help to worship he had written

‘ But let my due feet never fail  
To tread the studious cloister's pale,  
And love the high embowèd roof  
With antic pillars massy proof,  
And storied windows richly dight  
Casting a dim religious light.  
There let the pealing organ blow,  
To the full-voiced quîrê below,  
In service high and anthems clear,  
As may with sweetness through mine ear,  
Dissolve me into extasies  
And bring all heaven before mine eyes.’

His Puritanism consisted chiefly in rebellion against all control in matters of faith and conduct. His prose writings were all directed against authority, whether, as in the ‘Reasons of Church government urged against Prelacy,’ against that of Bishops, or, as in ‘Areopagitica,’ against the attempt of the Long Parliament to restrain

liberty of thought by refusing to let books be published without a license. It was their full agreement on this point which made Milton call Cromwell 'our chief of



MILTON.

men,' while Baxter, who met him in the camp, was not attracted by him, and says of him: 'He would not dispute with me at all but he would in good discourse very fluently pour out himself in the extolling of free

grace, which was savoury to those who had right principles, though he had some misunderstanding of free grace himself. He was a man of excellent natural parts for affection and oratory, but not well seen in the principles of his religion.'

Baxter and Milton represent the two opposite streams of opinion into which Puritanism had divided: the one desiring authority to be more and more strictly enforced in matters of faith, the other claiming complete freedom from all restraint. The strength of the former body lay in the Parliament and of the latter in the army, and the triumph of the army in removing first the King and then the Long Parliament from power seemed to Milton to be steps in the direction of freedom, while to Baxter they were a cause of bitter disappointment. He lived quietly at Kidderminster during the Commonwealth, writing great controversial works, which have passed out of memory, and one devotional one, the 'Saints' Everlasting Rest,' which lives now, side by side with Jeremy Taylor's 'Holy Living and Dying.'

The Restoration was of course a final blow to the hopes of Milton, and it was as much as he could hope that he should be allowed to live quietly in retirement, in which he devoted himself to the production of his great poems, before which his controversial writings sink into insignificance. But to Baxter there was great hope that in the new settlement he and his party might be included within the Church. Charles made him one of his chaplains and always had a kindly feeling for him, and in his desire of reconciling the Presbyterians, offered him the Bishopric of Hereford, which Baxter was too honest to accept. But he took a leading part in the Savoy Conference, which was held in the hope of finding some means by which Presbyterians might

be brought within the Church. He pressed for a revision of the Prayer-Book and the adoption of 'Archbishop Usher's Model' of church government, by which a synod of presbyters was to be appointed in each diocese to control the Bishop. But the harsh measures of the past eleven years had produced their natural result. Whatever good-natured Charles might wish, his subjects were in no mood for moderation. All attempts at conciliation failed. By the terms of the Act of Uniformity, 1662, all Puritan ministers refusing to conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church were turned out of the livings from which, seventeen years before, men had been dismissed who refused to take the Covenant.

Baxter of course had to leave Kidderminster, but he was not left without means of living, as he had lately married a rich young wife, and he spent the next twenty-three years in retirement, writing and occasionally preaching. Once, indeed, he was arrested and imprisoned for preaching, but on application being made to the King he was at once released. But after Charles' death he was arrested on the charge of libelling the Church in his 'Paraphrase of the New Testament,' tried before Judge Jeffreys and imprisoned for eighteen months, when he was released in accordance with James' plan of conciliating dissenters in order to gain their support for his Declaration of Indulgence. But Baxter was not to be moved by fear or favour, and used all his influence against the King's project, joining heartily with Churchmen in their resistance to James' projects in favour of Roman Catholics. He used his freedom for constant preaching till his death in 1691.

Baxter is a typical man of his time. Intensely religious, delighting in controversy, entirely convinced of

the truth of his religious convictions, he suffered, for conscience' sake, that which he would equally conscientiously have inflicted upon others if he had had it in his power.

The Puritan of the time of the first Stuarts had been in no sense content to claim liberty of worship outside the Church, but had sought for changes in the doctrine and practices of the Church in accordance with his own views; the Puritan of the later Stuart times claimed only liberty of dissent, or nonconformity, the right to teach and worship according to his conscience outside the limits of the national Church, and it was this which was denied to him by the Conventicle Act and Five Mile Act, which are instances of persecution carried out by the party which had itself been persecuted.

#### ON THE NEW FORCERS OF CONSCIENCE UNDER THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

(1647.)

Because you have thrown off your prelate lord,  
And with stiff vows renounced his liturgy,  
To seize the widow'd whore Plurality  
From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorred,  
Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword  
To force our consciences that Christ set free,  
And ride us with a Classic hierarchy  
Taught ye by mere A.S. and Rotherford?  
Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent  
Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,

Must now be named and pointed heretics  
By shallow Edwards and Scotch what d'ye call :  
But we do hope to find out all your tricks,  
Your plots and packing worse than those of Trent,  
That so the Parliament  
May, with their wholesome and preventive shears  
Clip your phylacteries, though bank your ears  
And succour our just fears,  
When they shall read this clearly in your charge,  
New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large.

MILTON.



## CHARLES II., THE RESTORED KING.

CHARLES II. passed his boyhood in troubled times, being only twelve years old when the Civil War broke out. He was given a commission in the army and was with the King's forces in the West of England at the age of fifteen, where he formed 'a habit of speaking and judging upon what was said in the Council of officers.' When the war turned against the King, Charles received orders to go to France to join his mother, 'who is to have full power of your education in everything except religion,' wrote the King. Hyde went with him, first to the Scilly Isles, whence he was invited 'in a tender loving way to submit himself to Parliament,' then to Jersey, and finally to France in July, 1646. Here Charles lived for two years, with the philosopher Hobbes as his tutor, neglected by his mother and led into evil ways by profligate nobles, French and English. During the closing months of 1648 Charles was in Holland, doing all he could by appeals to Fairfax and others to save his father's life. A month after the King's death he was proclaimed in Scotland King of Great Britain, Ireland, and France, and an army was raised to enforce his claim, all, however, being conditional on his taking the Covenant. To this Charles agreed when he found that no other scheme was possible, and he made his way to Scotland, where he had to submit to listen 'to prayers and admonitions of

great length' and to lectures as to his moral conduct. It was probably this experience which made Charles afterwards declare that 'presbytery was not a religion



CHARLES II.

*(After the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.)*

for a gentleman.' The defeat of the Scotch army at Dunbar and at Worcester, where Charles fought gallantly, put an end to his hopes for a time. His escape after Worcester was full of adventures. For

forty days he was in England with a reward of £1,000 on his head; many of his subjects recognised, but would not betray him, and several risked their lives in his service. During the years of the Commonwealth Charles was in France till the treaty between Cromwell and France obliged him to leave; he then went to Germany and thence to the Netherlands, with the hope of Spain taking up his cause. During all this time he was pressed by poverty, but he bore his misfortunes with unfailing courage and good humour. When Monk, as the mouthpiece of the nation, invited him to return, he was at Breda in Holland, from whence he issued a Declaration promising a general pardon and a settlement of property subject to the decision of Parliament. The 'Convention' Parliament, which had met on the dissolution of the Long Parliament, declared that 'according to the ancient and fundamental laws of the Kingdom, the Government is and ought to be by King, Lords and Commons.' Charles was greeted at Dover with unbounded enthusiasm, and brought to London, which he entered in triumph on his thirtieth birthday, May 29, 1660.

Just as he had cheerfully signed the Covenant, so he now signed Magna Carta and the Petition of Right; he had no difficulty in signing anything, since he would have no scruple in breaking his promise if he should find it inconvenient to keep it.

The first question which had to be decided was that of the promised pardon. Charles was not vindictive and would have freely forgiven everyone, but the *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* excluded from pardon those who had put the King to death, of whom eleven were executed and the others escaped by exile. A more difficult question was that of the restoration of property.

Royalists who had been in exile with the King expected to regain their forfeited estates, but in many cases they found them in the hands of those who had fairly bought them from the Government of the day. Parliament decided that Crown and Church lands must be restored on compensation being made to the holders; but private lands were not disturbed, and disappointed royalists were heard to murmur that Parliament had passed an Act of 'indemnity for the King's enemies and oblivion for his friends.' It was a case in which it was impossible to be fair to both sides; and it was safer to offend tried friends than old enemies.

Religion was a still more difficult question; but the mind of the Parliament was clear on the point, and from this time dates the existence of *dissenters*, that is, members of religious bodies not included in the national Church. The deplorable persecuting acts against them were the work of the Parliament as the result of a reaction after the persecution of Churchmen during the Commonwealth, and were not pleasing to Charles, who, by nature easy-going, was also anxious to make it possible for Roman Catholics to have freedom of worship in England. He gave way for a time and waited for a more favourable opportunity for gaining his end, because these measures were made the condition of grants of money. Parliament proved itself lavish in its grants and a fixed revenue was voted large enough to have made Charles independent of future Parliaments if it had not been for his extravagant habits. His marriage in 1662 with Catherine of Braganza, who brought Bombay as her dowry, established a tie with France, the ally of Portugal, which he drew closer by the sale of Dunkirk. The possession of this town was really a source of weakness rather than

of profit to England, but the nation had been proud of its conquest and the transfer aroused great indignation. The Dutch War (1664-65) was the outcome of the growing purpose of the nation to extend its colonies, in which Charles always took a great interest; he had lately made a grant of land in North America to a company, who formed the colony named after the King 'Carolina,' and the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam in the midst of our colonies was a source of great annoyance. The war was costly in men and money, the Dutch fleet being a powerful one, and the fear of the intervention of France, which was not willing to see England become mistress of the sea by annihilating the Dutch fleet, made Charles wish for peace. The Great Plague which raged in London during 1665 and obliged Parliament to transfer its sitting to Oxford, and the fire of September, 1666, which destroyed the greater part of the city and much of the wealth of the citizens, made the expense of the war very burdensome, and most Englishmen felt that the Treaty of Breda, which secured for England the possession of New Amsterdam, henceforward called New York, attained the chief object of the war. But the shame felt at the burning of English ships in the Thames, just as the treaty was being arranged, left a feeling of bitterness against the Dutch which made our relations with them more difficult in after years. For most English statesmen were beginning to see that our best policy was to unite with the Dutch against the ever-growing power of Louis XIV. of France, whose conquests in the Spanish Netherlands were threatening the future of Holland and the peace of Europe. Charles, on the other hand, was inclined to ally with France. He hoped by alliance with France to obtain money to make him independent

of Parliament and so to be able to carry out his schemes in favour of liberty of worship for Roman Catholics, while Louis was quite ready to expend money to keep England from interference with his schemes of conquest in Europe. Charles understood the feeling of the nation too well to think that he could obtain their support for his plans, so he publicly gave his consent to the policy of the *Triple Alliance*, founded in 1668 by Sir William Temple, between England, Holland, and Sweden, to resist the growing power of France, while he privately pledged himself to Louis in the *Secret Treaty of Dover*, in 1670, to keep England from joining Holland against France, and to declare himself a Roman Catholic as soon as possible.

After the fall of Clarendon Charles had no responsible minister, but made use of several different men for different parts of government. The chief of these, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, were looked upon with jealousy as a clique, or a Cabal, as they were nicknamed from their initials, but they did not form a *ministry* in our sense of the word, as they were not bound to each other by any political principle, but only by their connection with the King, who gave to each so much of his confidence as he saw fit. All of them knew of the treaty with France, but only Clifford and Arlington, who were Roman Catholics, were in the secret of the article by which Charles promised to declare himself a Roman Catholic.

In spite of the Triple Alliance Charles found it possible to join France in a war with Holland in 1672, relying upon the national resentment against the Dutch. In Parliament, however, that feeling was yielding to a growing hatred of France, and they refused to grant supplies for the war unless Charles



would withdraw a *Declaration of Indulgence* which he had just issued, to suspend all laws against Dissenters, and to allow to Roman Catholics the right of private, and to Protestants the right of public, worship. The House declared that the Declaration annulled forty statutes, and Charles found himself obliged either to give up the Declaration or the war. At the bidding of Louis he withdrew the Declaration and the House then voted liberal supplies, but in their mistrust of Roman Catholics, proceeded to pass the Test Act, obliging all in office to abjure the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which is the special Roman teaching on the Sacrament of Holy Communion. Clifford had to retire from the post of Lord Treasurer, and the Duke of York, the King's brother, from that of Lord High Admiral, but most Roman Catholics felt that the Act did them little harm, as they were much more likely to be allowed to practise their religion in private if they did not excite national opposition by holding office in the State.

This war was not as successful as the last ; and when the English fleet was beaten off the Texel, while the French fleet stood by without offering help, the feeling of the nation proved too much for Charles ; he made peace with Holland and changed his policy, agreeing to the marriage of Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, who, after her father, was next in succession to the throne, with her cousin William Prince of Orange, the chief magistrate of the Dutch republic. Parliament, however, would have had Charles go further and declare war with France. To prevent this Louis gave Charles a yearly pension to make it possible for him to keep Parliament prorogued. Some hints of the secret articles of the Treaty of Dover had now got abroad, and men's minds were agitated by the fear that the

King was inclined to Roman Catholicism. In this state of mind they were ready to listen with credulity to the absurd story of the *Popish Plot*, originated by a worthless person named Titus Oates, who thought to enrich himself by the pretended discovery of a Roman Catholic plot to murder the King and to put James Duke of York on the throne by the help of the French. A panic spread throughout the Kingdom; innocent Roman Catholics were arrested, some executed; and the Parliament turned at once upon the King's minister, Danby, who was known to have had secret dealings with France, and impeached him. Charles, to avoid disclosures, dissolved the Parliament, which had sat for nineteen years.

From this time Charles shows to advantage, using his great abilities in a close struggle with the party headed by his old minister Ashley, now Lord Shaftesbury, who was bent upon excluding the Duke of York from the throne, as a Roman Catholic. No longer depending upon France, Charles had for once a fixed principle, the maintenance of his brother's right of succession, and in dealing with the opposition he showed his power of reading character, and of judging the feeling of the nation, and enjoyed playing off one party against another, as a game of skill. The new Parliament was completely in the power of the opposition party or Whigs, and Charles gave way on most points—the removal of his minister Danby, the appointment of a council, headed by Shaftesbury, the Habeas Corpus Act, which secured the right of a speedy trial to all prisoners; but refused to accept the Exclusion Bill, to shut out the Duke of York from the throne, and dissolved three Parliaments in succession, relying upon the dread of civil war which he knew to have been

strongly implanted in the nation by the late rebellion. The event proved that he was right. Many who regretted the prospect of a Roman Catholic King were yet still more unwilling to risk the civil war which would probably follow from an interference with the succession, and a great reaction took place; Shaftesbury and the Whigs became unpopular; and men felt ashamed of the unreasoning panic which had made them believe all the empty story of the 'Popish Plot,' and forgot the very real danger that had arisen from Charles' treaty with Louis. The King was now more popular than ever; but he was not merciful in his triumph. He punished with the severest penalties those who were implicated in the 'Rye House Plot,' a wild outbreak which he could well have afforded to disregard. He had no more Parliaments, but took care to prepare for a 'Tory' majority and to prevent opposition to his brother in the great cities by making them all forfeit their charters by a legal quibble, and giving new ones only to Tory Corporations. Before the Parliament so carefully prepared was called, Charles had died, refusing on his death-bed the ministrations of the Archbishop and choosing those of a Roman priest from whom he received the last Sacraments. His whimsical humour in apologizing for having been 'an unconscionable time in dying' was a characteristic which throughout his life endeared him to his people, and made men judge him then, as he has always been judged since, less harshly than any of his race. Yet assuredly he was the least worthy of respect of all the Stuarts. With much greater ability but much less sense of duty than his father, he prospered more because he knew when to give way and had no scruple of conscience to hinder him from doing so. Nothing, he

always declared, would induce him to set forth on his travels again, and whenever he knew that opposition was reaching the point of resistance, he yielded, even when his honour was involved.

Charles' manner was so easy and negligent that few



A COUNTRYWOMAN OF THE PERIOD.

realized how much he really worked towards his own aims, and how much determination there was in him. He would transact important business lounging over the fire in the House of Lords, and playing with his dogs. Bishop Burnet says of him: 'The King is certainly the

best bred man in the world. . . . civil rather to an excess and has a softness and gentleness with him both in his air and expression that has a charm in it. . . . The King has a vast deal of wit, indeed no man has more, and a great deal of judgment, when he thinks fit to



A MERCHANT'S WIFE OF LONDON.

employ it; he has strange command of himself; he can pass from business to pleasure and from pleasure to business in so easy a manner that all things seem alike to him; he has the greatest art of concealing himself of any man alive, so that those about him cannot tell

when he is ill or well pleased. . . . He has a very ill opinion both of men and women and is so infinitely distrustful he thinks the world is governed wholly by interests . . . . He has knowledge of many things, chiefly in all navy affairs, even in the architecture of ships he judges as critically as any of the trade can do . . . he understands much natural philosophy and is a good chymist ; he knows many mechanical things and the inferior parts of the mathematics. . . . He is very kind to those he loves, but never thinks of doing anything for them.'

The interest of the King in natural science led him to encourage the Royal Society founded in 1660. His court was brilliant and cultivated ; a taste for literature and art was general, and witty conversation was a means of gaining favour with the King. In contrast to this was the low moral tone of the Court, which of course was not wholly due to the influence of Charles : part must be put down to the effect of his courtiers having, like himself, lived a life of exile at the French Court, where the moral standard was low ; and partly to the reaction from Puritanism. We know now how much genuine religion lay behind what was repulsive in the Puritan exterior, but the young Cavalier confounded the genuine Puritan with the canting hypocrite who is sure to come to the front at a time when outward profession of religion is a means of worldly advancement. Moreover, the Puritan had tried to crush down one element of human nature, the instinct for happiness and beauty, and such an attempt is always followed by dangerous reaction. So just because in the Commonwealth it had been the fashion to pretend to be good, under Charles II. it was the fashion to pretend to be more wicked than you were, and to swear and say profane things to show how far



removed you were from being a Puritan : because all pleasure had been denounced as sinful the young Cavalier threw himself without restraint into all kinds of pleasure. The evil was mostly on the surface and confined to London and the people of fashion : underneath was a healthy strong life soon to show itself in religious and philanthropic activity.

The most important result of the reign of Charles II. was to establish the principle of ' Ministerial responsibility,' that is, that all acts of government were to be looked upon as coming from the minister and not the King, so that if the Parliament disapproved of the policy they need not cut off the King's head, but could demand the dismissal, or if necessary, the impeachment of the minister. Thus when the secret dealings with France were discovered, it was Danby and not the King who bore the punishment, although the policy was the King's and had been carried out by Danby against his will ; and so gradually ministers grew into the habit of considering not only what the King commanded but what the nation wished. When Buckingham described Charles II. as a King

' Who never said a foolish thing  
And never did a wise one,'

Charles retorted, ' My words are my own, my acts are my ministers', and the words, spoken in jest, expressed a great constitutional principle.

*From the Diary of Samuel Pepys, M.A., F.R.S.*

' Sept. 3, 1665 (Lord's Day). Up, and put on my coloured silk suit very fine, and my new periwig, bought a good while since, but durst not wear, because

the plague was in Westminster when I bought it ; and it is a wonder what will be the fashion after the plague is done as to periwiggs, for nobody will dare to buy any haire, for fear of the infection, that it hath been cut off the heads of people dead of the plague. Before Church time comes Mr. Hill (Mr. Andrews failing because he was to receive the Sacrament) and to Church, where a sorry dull parson, and so home and most excellent company with Mr. Hill and discourse of musique. I took my Lady Pen home, and her daughter Pegg, and merry we were ; and after dinner I made my wife show them her pictures, which did mad Pegg Pen, who learns of the same man and cannot do so well. After dinner left them, and I by water to Greenwich, where much ado to be suffered to come into the towne because of the sicknesse, for fear I should come from London, till I told them who I was. So up to the Church, where at the door I find Captain Cocke in my Lord Brunker's coach, and he come out and walked with me in the Churchyarde till the Churche was done, talking of the ill Government of our Kingdom, nobody setting to heart the business of the Kingdom, but everybody minding their own particular profit or pleasures, the King himself minding nothing but his ease, and so we let things go to wracke. This arose upon considering what we shall do for money when the fleete comes in, and more if the fleete should not meet with the Dutch, which will put a disgrace upon the King's actions, so as the Parliament and Kingdom will have the less mind to give more money, besides so bad an account of the last money, we fear, will be given, not half of it being spent, as it ought to be, upon the Navy. Besides it is said that at this day our Lord Treasurer cannot tell what the profit of the Chimney money is, what it comes to per

annum, nor looks whether that or any other part of the revenue be duly gathered as it ought; the very money that should pay the City the £200,000 they lent the King, being all gathered and in the hands of the Receiver and hath been long and yet not brought up to pay the City, whereas we are coming to borrow 4 or £500,000 more of the City, which will never be lent as it is to be feared. Church being done, my Lord Brunker, Sir J. Minnes, and I up to the Vestry at the desire of the Justices of the Peace, Sir Theo. Biddulph and Sir W. Boreman and Alderman Hooker, in order to the doing something for the keeping of the plague from growing; but Lord! to consider the madness of the people of the town, who will (because they are forbid) come in crowds along with the dead corps to see them buried; but we agreed on some orders for the prevention thereof. Among other stories, one was very passionate, methought, of a complaint brought against a man in the towne for taking a child from London from an infected house. Alderman Hooker told us it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracious St., a saddler, who had buried all the rest of his children of the plague and himself and his wife now being shut up and in despair of escaping, did desire only to save the life of this little child; and so prevailed to have it received stark naked into the arms of a friend, who brought it, (having put it into new fresh clothes) to Greenwich; where upon hearing the story we did agree it should be permitted to be received and kept in the towne.'

## SHAFTESBURY, 'THE DARING PILOT IN EXTREMITY.'

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER inherited from both parents considerable property in the counties of Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, and a position of importance in the West of England. He was left an orphan and a ward in Chancery at ten years old, and lost large sums of money by the unsatisfactory working of the Court of Chancery, which made him in later life eager to reform the court. He had a distinguished career at Oxford, and became a good classical scholar, and through all his life was a student of history and philosophy. Charles II. used to say of him that he knew more law than his judges and more divinity than his Bishops. He sat in the Short Parliament, although he was not of age, but failed to obtain election for the Long Parliament. When war broke out he brought all his influence in the West Country to bear upon the King's cause, and was made governor of Weymouth, but soon after went over to the Parliament side, according to Clarendon, from disappointment as to promotion, but as he left all his property in the power of the King, and as he was all his life a supporter of Parliamentary government, it is more likely that his motive was a conviction of the justice of the Parliamentary cause. During the struggle between the Parliament and the army, Ashley sympathized with the Parliament,

and was put upon the Committee for reform of the laws, in 1652, and was one of the nominated members of the 'Barebone's Parliament,' in which he was active in trying to reform the Court of Chancery. He was appointed



FIRST EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

a member of the Council of State by the 'Instrument of Government,' and sat in Cromwell's first Parliament, and when that was dissolved he broke off his connection with Cromwell, distrusting him as opposed to Parliamentary government. He was therefore not allowed to

take his seat when elected for the Second Parliament, and when in the next session the excluded members were allowed to return he was violent in his opposition to the new 'House of Lords.' He opposed the recognition of Richard Cromwell as his father's successor, and was among the first to join Monk in his plans for the recall of the King, and was one of the commission of twelve sent to Breda to arrange his return.

In the debate on the Indemnity Bill Ashley was in favour of generous dealing, though he voted for the execution of the regicides. At the Coronation he was made Lord Ashley and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and soon distinguished himself as a clear and fluent speaker and skilful debater and good man of business. He vigorously opposed all the measures of the Clarendon code, 'out of indifference to religion,' says Clarendon, who was never fair to Ashley. Throughout his life he was consistently in favour of toleration, except to Roman Catholics, so there is no reason for thinking that he was moved in his opposition to Clarendon by anything but conviction. He opposed him also on the question of the Dutch war, which he supported in the interest of English trade and colonies, in which he took a great and intelligent interest. It was he who asked his friend, the philosopher Locke, to draw up a constitution for the colony of Carolina, in which religious freedom was to be an important article. Locke was Ashley's most intimate friend, and tutor to his son and grandson, and by him Ashley was strengthened in his belief in the wisdom of toleration, which, together with his desire to give to Parliament the control of government, were the two guiding principles of his policy. In view of this latter conviction, it is surprising to find that Ashley spoke against the demand of Parlia-



ment in 1665 that the supplies which they granted should be appropriated to special objects, to prevent



[Walker and Cockerell.]

JOHN LOCKE.

(From the portrait by T. Brownover.)

the King using money granted for the war for his own private purposes, and it is impossible not to think that Ashley was in this matter led by a desire to curry favour

with the King. From this time he had increasing influence in the government. Together with the four other members of the Cabal, all of whom were united in desiring toleration, he signed the secret Treaty of Dover, although he was kept in ignorance of the clause which arranged for the promotion of Roman Catholic interests in England. It is certain that he did not approve in principle of a treaty concluded without the knowledge of Parliament, nor of Charles' next act of 'stopping the Exchequer,' that is, announcing that the money which had been lent to Parliament would not be paid back to the lenders. But he was warmly in favour of the 'Declaration of Indulgence,' his anxiety for the toleration of all religious beliefs blinding him to the fact that the King's claim to dispense with laws struck at the very root of the rights of Parliament. He was also a vigorous supporter of the second Dutch war, not realizing that the main object of this war was to gain the support of Louis of France to make Charles independent of Parliament. He was now made Earl of Shaftesbury, and in the same year Lord Chancellor, although not a lawyer. His work in this office was marked by strictest justice. When the Test Act was brought in it found a warm supporter in Shaftesbury, who by this time had probably discovered how he had been duped as to the secret Treaty of Dover, and was therefore bitterly opposed to Roman Catholics, whom his schemes for toleration had never included. Intolerance towards Roman Catholics was always justified by statesmen of the seventeenth century as being directed, not against their religious, but their political, opinions. A Roman Catholic, it was thought, could not be a good subject. In consequence of his support of the Test Act, Shaftesbury was dismissed from office.

‘It is only laying down my gown to put on my sword,’ he said, as he gave up the seals, and from this time onward he fought the King at every point.

‘A daring pilot in extremity,  
Pleased with the danger when the waves went high’

Dryden calls him, and evidently his was a nature which loved conflict, and whose spirit rose at the call to resistance. He played his game for the most part with great skill, using all the arts of a demagogue—that is, one who stirs up the people by an appeal to their passions. He was anxious for this Parliament, which had been in existence for sixteen years, to be dissolved, and he made one of his rare mistakes by declaring that, as Parliament had been prorogued for a year, it was by that very fact dissolved. The Lords committed him to the Tower for contempt, and he was only set free on offering an apology.

He believed that a ‘Popish Plot’ had been formed by Charles and James to establish Roman Catholicism in England against the wish of the nation, and his object therefore was to prevent James from succeeding to the throne. To gain this end he must rouse national feeling, and with this in view he stooped to the trick of encouraging a belief in the existence of the false plot invented by Titus Oates. It is impossible that Shaftesbury could have believed this story, but he used the panic for his own ends. He voted for the death of Lord Stafford, a Roman Catholic peer accused without any trustworthy evidence of joining in the plot, and, together with Lord Russell and Sir Algernon Sidney, entered into the pay of Louis XIV. to prevent Charles from making war upon France. His attack on Danby at last led to the dissolution of Parliament, and he used

his utmost skill, by working on the fear of the people, to secure a majority of his followers in the next Parliament. He carried all before him, and Charles was obliged to appoint a Council of fifteen members, with Shaftesbury as President, to assist him in the government. Charles, however, trusting to the support of the main body of the nation, refused to yield to the Exclusion Bill, which proposed that James should be cut off from the succession, though he was ready to agree that he should give up to Parliament all appointments to high office and to Church preferment. When the Bill had passed the second reading in the Commons, Charles dissolved the Parliament. Meanwhile, moderate men, headed by Lord Halifax, pointed out that the nation had only to wait patiently for James' death to have his daughter Mary, wife of the Prince of Orange, as Queen. It was well known that Shaftesbury intended to put forward the Duke of Monmouth, Charles' illegitimate son, as his successor, and all moderate men shrank from interfering with the lawful succession. Charles expressed the true view of the matter when he replied in the House of Lords to Shaftesbury's demand that the Duke of York should be passed over, in the words :

‘I have reason and law in my favour: well-minded people are on my side, and there is the Church, which will remain united to me. My Lords, she and I will not be separated.’

News from Scotland, where the Covenanters, in revenge for the strict measures of repression carried out by Lauderdale, had risen in rebellion and murdered the Archbishop of St. Andrews, frightened the lovers of order, and thus a strong party was formed in England ready to resist Shaftesbury's scheme for overturning the hereditary succession. Nicknames were soon found

for the two parties; 'Whig,' a name for the Scottish Covenanters, was fastened on to Shaftesbury's followers, who retorted by calling their opponents 'Tories,' which was associated with Irish beggars, and therefore with Roman Catholic sympathies. The Whigs were high in hope. Monmouth had been commissioned by the King to put down the Scotch rebellion, and had been successful, and as he came down through the west of England behaved as though he were the acknowledged heir to the throne. In the next Parliament, called in 1680, an immense majority of Whigs was returned; the Exclusion Bill passed quickly through the Commons, but met with steady opposition in the Lords. Again Charles dissolved Parliament, but called another one in the same year, this time at Oxford, to prevent pressure being brought to bear upon it by Shaftesbury's followers, who were strongest in London. So high was party feeling that both sides came armed, in expectation of a conflict, and this sight alarmed the people, who dreaded above all a return to military rule. 'I will give him rope enough,' Charles had said. He wished, by giving Shaftesbury every chance of expressing his intentions, to show the nation what would be the outcome of this policy, and the event showed that he had been right; when the Parliament at Oxford was dissolved it was evident that a great reaction had set in. Everywhere the stories of the Popish Plot fell out of credit, and the law-courts were now as active in condemning the inventors of the story as they had before been against its victims. Only in London Shaftesbury's popularity was not abated, and when he was charged with high treason, the Grand Jury, consisting of his own partisans, declared that there was not enough evidence against him to justify a trial.

A medal was struck to commemorate this triumph, stamped with Shaftesbury's bust on the one side and the word 'Lætamur' on the other. He tried to use his power in the City to effect a rising with '10,000 brisk boys of Wapping' and to get possession of the King, but Lord Russell, his chief supporter, refused to join, and he escaped to Holland, where his life, which had been one long triumph of nervous energy over physical weakness, collapsed for want of occupation. Dryden does justice to the nature of Shaftesbury,

'A fiery soul, which working out its way,  
Fretted the pigmy body to decay,  
And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.'

His ends were noble, but his means unworthy of them, and his life proves once more for us how necessary it is to keep high aims clear of all that is base and ignoble.

#### DRYDEN'S DESCRIPTION OF SHAFTESBURY AS ACHITOPHEL.

Of these the false Achitophel was first ;  
A name to all succeeding ages cursed :  
For close designs and crooked counsels fit ;  
Sagacious, bold and turbulent of wit ;  
Restless, unfixed in principles and place ;  
In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace ;  
A fiery soul, which working out its way,  
Fretted the pigmy body to decay,  
And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.  
A daring pilot in extremity ;  
Pleased with the danger, when the waves went high,  
He sought the storms ; but for a calm unfit,  
Would steer too nigh the sands to boast his wit.



Great wits are sure to madness near allied,  
And thin partitions do their bounds divide ;  
Else why should he, with wealth and honour blest,  
Refuse his age the needful hours of rest ?  
Punish a body which he could not please ;  
Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease ?  
And all to leave what with his toil he won,  
To that unfeathered two-legged thing, a son ;  
Got, while his soul did huddled notions try ;  
And born a shapeless lump like anarchy.  
In friendship false, implacable in hate ;  
Resolved to ruin or to rule the State.  
To compass this the triple bond he broke ;  
The pillars of the public safety shook,  
And fitted Israel for a foreign yoke ;  
Then seized with fear, yet still affecting fame,  
Usurped a patriot's all-atoning name.  
So easy still it proves in factious times,  
With public zeal to cancel private crimes !  
How safe is treason and how sacred ill,  
Where none can sin against the people's will !  
Where crowds can wink and no offence be known,  
Since in another's guilt they find their own !  
Yet fame deserved no enemy can grudge ;  
The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge.  
In Israel's Courts ne'er sat an Abbethdin  
With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean,  
Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress ;  
Swift of despatch and easy of access.  
Oh ! had he been content to serve the crown,  
With virtues only proper to the gown ;  
Or had the rankness of the soil been freed  
From cockle that oppressed the noble seed ;  
David for him his tuneful harp had strung,

And Heaven had wanted one immortal song.  
But wild ambition loves to slide, not stand,  
And Fortune's ice prefers to Virtue's land.  
Achitophel, grown weary to possess  
A lawful fame, and lazy happiness  
Disdained the golden fruit to gather free,  
And lent the crowd his arm to shake the tree.  
Now manifest of crimes contrived long since,  
He stood at bold defiance with his prince ;  
Held up the buckler of the people's cause  
Against the crown, and skulked behind the laws.  
The wished occasion of the plot he takes ;  
Some circumstances finds, but more he makes ;  
By buzzing emissaries fills the ears  
Of listening crowds with jealousies and fears  
Of arbitrary counsels brought to light,  
And proves the King himself a Jebusite.  
Weak arguments ! which yet he knew full well  
Were strong with people easy to rebel.  
For, governed by the moon, the giddy Jews  
Tread the same track when she the prime renews ;  
And once in twenty years, their scribes record,  
By natural instinct they change their lord.  
Achitophel still wants a chief, and none  
Was found so fit as warlike Absalom.  
Not that he wished his greatness to create,  
For politicians neither love nor hate ;  
But, for he knew his title not allowed,  
Would keep him still depending on the crowd :  
That kingly power, thus ebbing out, might be  
Drawn to the dregs of a democracy.

## JAMES II., THE PAPIST KING.

JAMES, Duke of York, second son of Charles I., was only nine years old when the war broke out. He was at Oxford till it surrendered, and then was handed over to the Commissioners of Parliament, from whom he escaped under cover of a game of hide-and-seek in April, 1648. He then lived for a time with his sister, the Princess of Orange, till after the King's death, when he joined his mother and brother in Paris. His temper was so stiff and unyielding that he had constant quarrels with the Queen Mother, and even with the easy-going Charles, and he more than once left them to rejoin his sister. After the failure of the royal hopes at Worcester he served with some distinction under the great French General Turenne, but left his army to join the Spanish one when Cromwell concluded a treaty with France against Spain. On the Protector's death he rejoined his brother at Breda to watch events, and was made Lord High Admiral of England, and commanded the fleet which brought the restored King to England. Soon after he announced his secret marriage with Anne Hyde, daughter of Clarendon, who acquired a strong influence over him, and it was probably her joining the Roman Church which led to James taking the same step. In the Dutch war of 1665 he bore himself very gallantly in the battle off Lowestoft, and gained a signal victory, and received from Parliament a grant of

£120,000. He was not successful, however, in keeping the Dutch out of the Thames in 1667, though he 'ran up and down all the day, here and there,' as Pepys tells



W. A. Mansell and Co.

THE FIVE CHILDREN OF CHARLES I.

(After Sir Anthony Van Dyck.)

us. In the second Dutch war James was in command in the victorious battle in Southwold Bay, but in the next year the passing of the Test Act obliged him to resign his office of Lord High Admiral. He soon

aroused a storm of opposition by his marriage with Mary of Modena, a Roman Catholic, at the suggestion of Louis XIV. This step caused the greatest anxiety in England as to the possibility of a son being born to James, who would be brought up as a Roman Catholic, and succeed to the throne. Many attempts were made by Archbishop Sancroft and others to draw James back to the Church of his baptism, but in vain: and the Church party were obliged to be content with winning the reluctant assent of James to the marriage of his eldest daughter to the Protestant Prince of Orange. In the excitement aroused by the Popish plot James became naturally the object of the attack of the House of Commons, especially when the arrest of his wife's secretary brought to light papers written by James himself relating to the Secret Treaty of Dover, and an address was moved begging the King 'to remove the Duke of York from his counsels.' Charles at last reluctantly told James to withdraw, and he went first to Holland, then to Brussels, while the King and Halifax fought his battles in Parliament against the claim put forward by the Opposition on behalf of Monmouth. Halifax thought that this could best be done by offering, in the Security Bill, terms which would limit the power of a Roman Catholic monarch. The scheme failed to win over the Opposition, and James never forgave Halifax for the proposal. Charles now appointed James High Commissioner in Scotland, where, though taking severe measures to put down the Covenanters who had risen in rebellion, he at first behaved with much tact and moderation towards the loyal Presbyterians, discouraging the enforcement of the persecuting laws against dissenters. But in 1681 he changed his policy, and carried through the Scotch Parliament a Test Act,

imposing on all who held office an oath to support the hereditary succession and the Episcopal Church. 'This was rigidly enforced, and caused bitter opposition, headed by the Duke of Argyle, who refused to take the oath and was imprisoned, but escaped to Holland.

In the last years of Charles' reign James gained increasing influence over the King, and it was through his means that Charles received the ministrations of a Roman priest on his death-bed.

On ascending the throne James reassured his anxious subjects by the voluntary declaration: 'I will make it my endeavour to preserve the government both in Church and State as it is by law established.' He appointed to office his two brothers-in-law, Lords Clarendon and Rochester, both known to be devoted to the Church, and although the promoters of the Popish Plot were brought to punishment, it caused no dissatisfaction to men who had become ashamed of having been so easily led away by their inventions; and the collection of tonnage and poundage by James before it had been granted by Parliament was easily excused as a temporary measure of expediency. The nation was ready to receive the King with enthusiasm, and James might have reigned prosperously, had he not made a direct attack upon the two things for which the English people cared even more than for the throne, the Church and national independence. It was because he attacked the Church and was obliged to seek the help of the King of France in doing so that James lost the loyalty of his people.

His first Parliament was wholly Tory. A large revenue was voted, which would have made him able to shake off the disgraceful dependence on Louis XIV. in which Charles had involved himself, had he so willed,



but he took care to assure Louis of his devotion to the French alliance, knowing that the course of action which he had laid down for himself would make it necessary for him to have some resource to fall back upon to make him independent of Parliament. In Scotland also a most loyal spirit was shown, and a liberal revenue granted, with, however, a clear understanding that all laws relating to the security and freedom of the Church were to be observed.

So solid was the feeling in favour of the King that when Monmouth landed in the West of England, where he was most popular, he was joined only by the peasants and townsmen, with whom he could not possibly face the King's army in a pitched battle, and when his attempt at a surprise failed at Sedgmoor, the undertaking entirely collapsed and he himself was taken, tried, and executed, while his followers were punished by Judge Jeffreys with unnecessary severity.

The rebellion gave James an excuse for keeping up a considerable standing army, which gave rise to anxiety, as it was felt that the King would not need to keep an army at hand unless he were planning actions which would provoke opposition, and the anxiety grew deeper when it was found that many of the officers appointed to command were Roman Catholics, who held their commissions without having taken the required oath. In its second session the Parliament, unable to pass over this irregularity, yet not wishing to quarrel with the King, sent up an answer to the address to the effect that they were willing to allow them to retain their commissions provided it was clearly understood that they did not in so doing acknowledge the *Dispensing Power*, or right of the King to dispense with laws at his pleasure. James in reply prorogued the Parliament, and dismissed

Halifax from the Privy Council, although he had done more than anyone to secure the throne for him. Having appointed Jeffreys Lord Chancellor, and dismissed four judges whose opposition he feared, James allowed the legality of his action in appointing Roman Catholics to office in the army to be tried in the case of Sir Edward Hales, and obtained from the twelve judges an opinion that there was no law to prevent the King 'dispensing with any law in an individual instance.' Strengthened by this opinion, James proceeded to place Roman Catholics in positions of the greatest influence. The Master of University College, Oxford, ventured to declare himself a Roman Catholic, and was allowed to keep his position; a Roman Catholic named Massey was appointed to the Deanery of Christ Church, while the Bishopric of Oxford was given to Parker, who was known to be disloyal to the Church. When Compton, Bishop of London, refused to suspend a clergyman for preaching against the errors of Rome, James formed a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, like the High Commission Court which had been abolished by the Long Parliament, for the trial of ecclesiastical offenders, and made Jeffreys President, whereupon Archbishop Sancroft refused to sit as one of the judges. The first act of the court was to suspend Compton for refusing to silence one of his clergy at the command of the King. Early in the next year James dismissed from office his two brothers-in-law, Rochester for refusing to change his religion, Clarendon to make room for Tyrconnel, 'lying Dick Talbot,' as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

Having alienated the Church, James tried to ally with the dissenters. Advised by William Penn, a leading Quaker, he declared his intention of allowing toleration for all forms of religious belief, and in April, 1687, issued

a Declaration of Indulgence allowing freedom of public worship to all dissenters, Roman Catholic or Protestant. The support of only a few dissenters was gained by this, for though they wanted liberty of worship, the majority of Englishmen looked with dismay upon the utter disregard of the law which was shown by the King's action, and felt that it was no sound foundation for liberty. Moreover, James' lawless action was drawing Churchmen and dissenters together, and they hoped that before long they would obtain the freedom they wanted from Parliament. James' defiance of law and right was further shown by his attack on Magdalen College, Oxford, where he expelled all the Fellows because they refused to give up their right of electing their own President and to receive one nominated by the King. Cambridge did not escape; there the Vice-Chancellor was dismissed by James for refusing to give a degree to a Roman Catholic at the King's command. Men of all shades of religious belief were beginning to see that the liberty of the subject was not safe against this King.

Parliament was dissolved in 1687. James, to secure a majority of supporters in the next Parliament, dismissed from office sixteen Lords Lieutenant of the counties whom he distrusted. Resistance came first from the Church. When James, not content with issuing a Declaration of Indulgence, called upon the clergy to read it in Church, he was met by a steady refusal from the great body of the clergy, supported by seven Bishops, who took joint action in presenting a petition to the King against the Declaration. The joyful reception of the news of the acquittal of these Bishops when James had them tried for a seditious libel, only made him more determined in his course; he

went on making Roman Catholic appointments, and reviewed and strengthened his army. But the crisis was at hand. Men had felt willing to wait patiently 'until this tyranny should be overpast' as long as they hoped for the succession of Mary, but the birth of a son to James in the midst of the struggle with the Bishops, took away that hope. A prince educated as a Roman Catholic would, they thought, only make permanent the present system. It was vain to say, as some did in their desperation, that the child was not really James' son but had been smuggled into the palace. Sensible men refused such a subterfuge, and a few of the leading ones took matters into their own hands and invited William of Orange to come over 'in support of the Church and the law.' James, at length roused to a sense of danger, tried too late to draw back. He declared Roman Catholics to be ineligible as members of Parliament; announced to the Bishop of Winchester his intention to support the Church of England; restored the Bishop of London to his see, allowed the Fellows of Magdalen to return, and promised to call a Parliament. It was too late. Everything worked against James. Even the winds were favourable to William and took him past the fleet which was waiting to intercept him, to Torbay, where there was no force to oppose him. The national pride, which might naturally have been expected to resent a Dutch invasion, had been wounded by James' reliance on France, while French help was not forthcoming, for Louis had been offended by James' blunt refusal when he had offered it earlier in the year, and was moreover occupied on the Rhine. Advancing with his army to Salisbury to meet William, James found that he could not rely upon it; Churchill, one of his most trusted commanders, deserted to William, taking

with him the Princess Anne; and James returned to London, prepared to make further concessions, putting Halifax at the head of affairs. He did not, however, stay to face the situation, but tried to follow the Queen and the little Prince to France, throwing the Great Seal into the Thames as he went. He was stopped on the way by some fishermen, and by them taken to Faversham, where he was recognised and brought back to London. Nothing could have been more embarrassing to William than the presence of the King, and he was relieved of a great difficulty when James took advantage of the chances of escape which were freely given to him, and betook himself to France. Here he was received by Louis XIV. with the utmost kindness; the palace of S. Germain's was given up to him and he held a court there for the rest of his life. Louis also aided him with forces in his attempts to recover the throne. There were signs of reaction in England, but James preferred to make Ireland his point of attack, as the whole island, except Londonderry, and Enniskillen, had declared for him. The operations were, however, badly directed, and the Battle of the Boyne put an end to his hopes in that direction. But for the next ten years discontent in England and frequent plots against William, made the Stuart cause seem so hopeful that most of the leading men in England found it necessary to have a secret understanding with James. The support of France was really fatal to him, as it enlisted against him all the patriotism of England.

The last years of James' life till his death in 1701 were spent in religious exercises and in writing theological essays. There is no doubt that he was sincere in his devotion to his religion and held it cowardly and unfaithful not to press forward what he conceived to be

its interests, even at the cost of his own popularity. He had more sense of duty than Charles II., but less statesmanlike understanding of the forces against him. 'The King could see if he would ; the Duke would see if he could,' Buckingham had said truly of the two brothers.

He was an affectionate father, feeling bitterly the desertion of his two daughters, a faithful friend, and a kind master, though the severity with which he put down the Covenanters in Scotland and Monmouth's supporters in England, point to a certain cruelty of nature. In his early life he was distinguished for courage, which, however, deserted him at the Battle of the Boyne. Burnet says of him, before his accession, 'He has naturally a candour and a justice in his temper very great, and is a firm friend but a heavy enemy, and will keep things long in his mind and wait for a fitt opportunity. He has a strange notion of government, that everything is to be carried on in a high way, and that no regard is to be had to the pleasing of the people ; he has an ill opinion of any that proposes soft methods, and thinks that is popularity, but at the same time he always talks of Law and Justice.'

#### SONNET ON THE ACQUITTAL OF THE BISHOPS.

A voice, from long-expecting thousands sent,  
Shatters the air, and troubles tower and spire ;  
For Justice hath absolved the innocent,  
And Tyranny is balked of her desire :  
Up, down, the busy Thames—rapid as fire  
Coursing a train of gunpowder—it went,  
And transport finds in every street a vent,  
Till the whole city rings like one vast quire.



The Fathers urge the People to be still,  
With outstretched hands and earnest speech—in vain!  
Yea, many haply wont to entertain

Small reverence for the mitre's offices  
And to Religion's self no friendly will,  
A Prelate's blessing ask on bended knees.

WORDSWORTH.



BISHOP KEN.

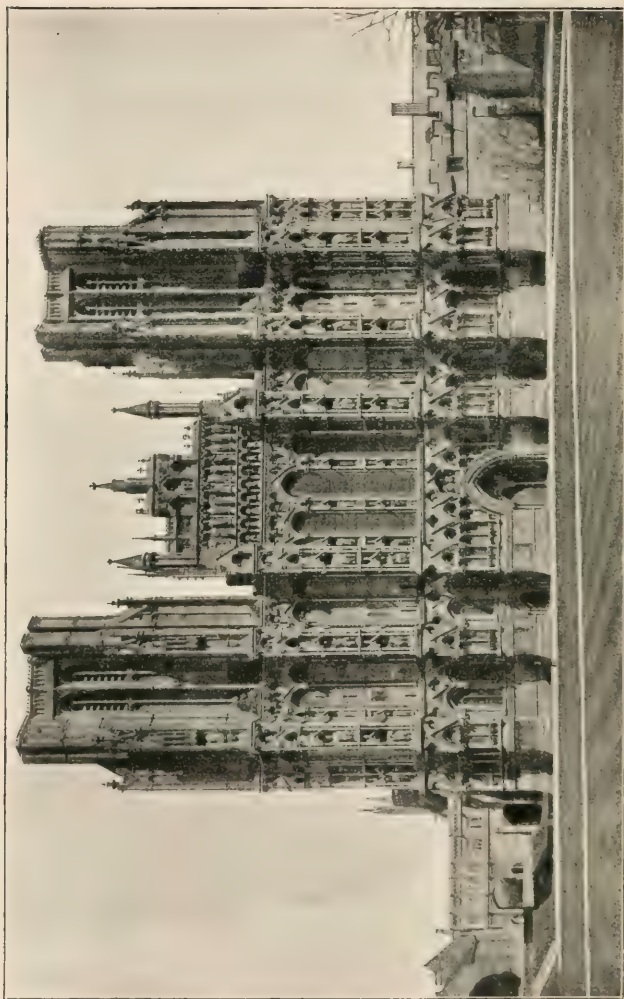
## BISHOP KEN, THE LOYAL REBEL.

(1637-1711.)

THE name of Thomas Ken is closely connected with Winchester, for he was first a scholar of the college, then held a Winchester scholarship at New College, Oxford, and after having taken Holy Orders and served for two years as Rector of a small parish in Essex, returned to Winchester to act as chaplain to the

Bishop, and to take the voluntary charge of S. John-in-the-Soke. He was made successively Fellow of the College and Canon of the Cathedral, and began to make a name as a preacher. A visit to Rome cured him, as he afterwards told James II., of an inclination he had once had towards the Church of Rome. In 1679 he was made chaplain to Mary, wife of William II. of Orange and sister of Charles II., and remonstrated boldly with the Prince for his unkind treatment of his wife. On his return to England Charles II. made him his chaplain and did not resent his fearless refusal to allow Nell Gwynn, the King's disreputable companion, to lodge in his house at Winchester, for when the Bishopric of Bath and Wells fell vacant Charles declared that no one should have it but 'the little black fellow that refused his lodging to poor Nelly.' It was Ken who tried to arouse Charles' conscience on his death-bed, and who ministered to the Duke of Monmouth at the time of his death, spending the night before the execution with him in his prison and attending him to the scaffold: and it was by his intercession that a hundred of Monmouth's followers were reprieved from death, and by his example and exhortation a fund was raised to help the ignorant peasants involved in the penalties of rebellion. At his consecration he gave the money which it was usual to spend in a feast towards the building fund of S. Paul's Cathedral, which, having been entirely destroyed by the Fire of London, was being rebuilt after the plans of Sir Christopher Wren. In those days of princely Bishops Ken was remarkable for the severe simplicity of his living: it was a new thing to see a Bishop walking rather than driving in a coach.

When in 1685 Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of



WELLS CATHEDRAL.

*J. P. Frith and Co.*

Nantes, which had given security to French Protestants in the exercise of their worship, many of these Huguenots, as they were called, sought refuge in England, where the dread of like treatment at the hands of James II. gained them much sympathy. Ken was foremost in encouraging the efforts made for their support, although this action made him a marked man in the eyes of King James. Though a thorough Tory, Ken would not flinch from opposing the King's interference with the liberty of the Church, and when it was his turn to preach at Whitehall he took for his subject the duty of loyalty to the Church of England. The first Declaration of Indulgence drew from Ken a stirring exhortation to Churchmen and Dissenters to draw together to resist the encroachments of Rome, and when the sermon was reported to James, and Ken was summoned to the royal presence, he gravely and boldly said to the King, 'If your Majesty had not neglected your own duty of being present, my enemies would have missed the opportunity of accusing me.'

When the second Declaration was issued, Ken, with Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lloyd, Bishop of S. Asaph, Trelawney of Bristol, White of Peterborough, Lake of Chichester and Turner of Ely, met with other divines, to consider whether it would be right to allow it to be read. On the one hand was the command of the King and on the other hand the law, and they decided that 'true loyalty consists in the observance of the laws,' and that the Dispensing power as used by James was equivalent to the right of repealing laws.

This power had always been, and still is, used by sovereigns when they grant a pardon to any person convicted of breaking a law. But it is one thing to suspend the action of the law, after the offence has been

committed, in an individual case on account of circumstances which in the special case may make the working of the law unduly severe; it is quite another thing to authorize beforehand a wholesale breach of existing laws. This was an abuse of the sovereign power which these Bishops, and other loyal and law-abiding men in England, felt they ought not to sanction, and the Seven Bishops drew up a petition which six of them presented to the King, praying that he would be pleased to desist from enforcing his command to read the Declaration in the churches, for 'that declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as has often been declared illegal in Parliament and particularly in the years 1662 and 1673 and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign.' James admitted the Bishops at once into his presence when they came to present the petition, for among their names he recognised those of some of his firmest friends, and he was the more surprised when he saw the contents of the petition. 'This is a standard of rebellion,' he exclaimed. 'God has given me this dispensing power and I will maintain it.' The Bishops on their part were surprised at the King's violent feeling; they assured him that they were very far from any intention of rebellion, and declared 'we will do our duty to the utmost which does not interfere with our duty to God.'

James determined to prosecute the Bishops to show that he did not intend to give up the dispensing power, and a charge of publishing a 'seditious libel' was brought against them. They were imprisoned in the Tower, crowds waiting on their barge to express their sympathy with their action. Seeing the popular enthusiasm on the side of the Bishops, several of James' friends wished him to take the opportunity of the birth



of his son to issue a pardon, but, fortunately for English liberty, he was determined to have the case tried. The charge was strictly narrowed to the question as to whether the petition was a 'seditious libel,' and it was easy to prove that since it had not been published it could not be a *libel*, and as it was only addressed to the King it could not be intended to excite *sedition*, but the counsel on both sides brought up the larger question of the dispensing power, the Bishops' advocates contending that, as the laws of England are made by King and Parliament together, the King cannot repeal them without the consent of Parliament. The verdict of 'Not guilty' was received by the people and even by the army with shouts of applause, and as the Bishops left the court men knelt to receive their blessing.

But Ken and his fellows, in resisting the King's abuse of his power, had not renounced their loyalty. When James left England Ken voted against the declaration that the throne was vacant, and when the Convention Parliament of William III. imposed upon all clergy the oath of allegiance to William, Ken and four others of the seven Bishops refused to take it. They would, they said, have accepted quietly the accession of William, since it was not in their power to prevent it, but they would not swear against their conscience that he was the rightful King. They had taken an oath to King James: it would make their word worthless if they now took the same oath to William. Ken announced in his diocese his intention of refusing the oath, but would not impose his own action upon his clergy, saying it was a matter for each man's conscience.

In April, 1691, he was deprived of his see, and, together with hundreds of the most conscientious clergy in England, formed the party of the 'Non-Jurors.'

Having no private fortune, Ken was for the rest of his life dependent on the hospitality of friends, which was freely offered, and he lived for a long time at Lord Weymouth's beautiful seat of Longleat. He was once summoned before William's Council for having published an appeal for help for the destitute non-juring clergy, but was at once set free. In 1704 he resigned his right to his see in order to justify the appointment of his friend Hooper as Bishop. He died in 1711, 'in the communion of the Church of England as it stands distinguished from all Papal and puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross,' he declared in his will, in which he asked to be buried in the church of the parish in which he should die, which was that of Frome in Somersetshire.

The familiar Morning and Evening Hymns are the best known of the works of this learned Bishop, but he was the author of several other works, both in prose and verse. His gentleness and moral courage form, however, a still more enduring memorial.

*Letter from Bishop Ken to Queen Mary.*

'MADAM,—I most humbly, I most importunately beg of you to consider that the dutys you owe to a Husband, to a ffather, and to a Brother, are not at all inconsistent, that the duty you owe to God is superiour to them all, that no one coṃmand of God is to be violated to gratify either, that such a violation is a publicke scandall to our Christianity, that no evill is to be done to promote our most Holy Religion, that there can be no true Repentance without Restitution, that if King James once setts up his Standard in his Kingdome, the arguments now urged against him, will then all turn for

him, . . . that you yourselfe will tremble at the thoughts of drawing the sword against your owne Royall Father, and against God's anointed, and if you should not tremble, that the nation will tremble to follow you. For my owne part I wish my head waters, and my eyes fountaines of tears, to bewaile the sins of the late Revolution, and I will gladly sacrifice my life, to heale those wounds, which you your selfe have given to your Conscience, and which one time or other will fall a bleeding. God out of the multitude of His most tender mercys give you grace to weepe much, to love much, and withall to be much beloved of God. Madam,

‘Your Royall Hyghnesses most humble

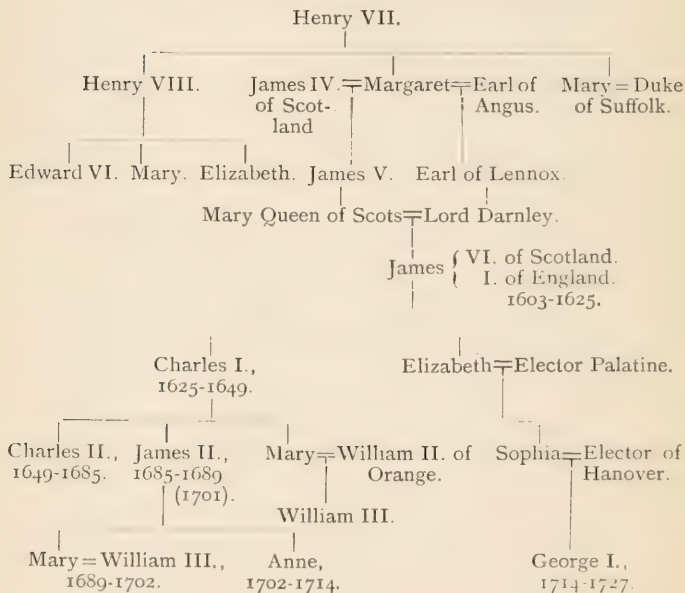
‘faithfull and affectionate servant and

‘intercessor at the throne of Grace,

‘THOMAS BATH AND WELLS.’

## SUMMARY.

**TABLE SHOWING DESCENT OF STUART KINGS.**



## SUMMARY OF THE STUART PERIOD.

### James I., 1603-1625.

#### I. Government with Parliament, 1603-1614.

- 1603. Millenary Petition presented by Puritans for revision of the Prayer-Book.  
Sir Walter Raleigh imprisoned for a plot against James.
- 1604. Hampton Court Conference.
- 1605. Gunpowder Plot discovered.
- 1606. Severe laws passed against Roman Catholics.
- 1607. Commons reject a proposal for the union of England and Scotland.
- 1612. Death of Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.  
Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset, becomes the King's chief minister.
- 1614. The 'Addled' Parliament dissolved.

#### II. Government without Parliament, 1614-1621.

- 1616. Sir W. Raleigh released, and allowed to conduct an expedition to South America.  
Somerset disgraced : succeeded by Villiers.
- 1618. Sir W. Raleigh executed for attacking Spanish possessions.  
**Thirty Years' War** breaks out in Europe.
- 1619. The Elector Palatine seeks help from James.
- 1620. Proposed marriage alliance with Spain.

#### III. Return to Government with Parliament, 1621-1625.

- 1621. Impeachment of Bacon.
- 1622. Parliament presses for war against Spain.
- 1623. Expedition of Prince Charles and Buckingham to Spain.
- 1624. War declared against Spain on behalf of Elector Palatine.  
Marriage treaty concluded with France.
- 1625. Death of James.

### Charles I., 1625-1649.

#### I. First Period of Government with Parliament, 1625-1629.

- 1625. Marriage of King with Henrietta Maria of France.  
English ships used by France against Protestants in La Rochelle.  
Montague, King's chaplain, censured for doctrine by Parliament.  
Expedition against Cadiz fails.
- 1626. Buckingham impeached.  
Money collected by **forced loans**.
- 1627. War declared against France on behalf of the Huguenots.  
Expedition to the Isle of Rhé a failure.  
Soldiers and sailors billeted on private persons; martial law established.

1628. Mainwaring's sermons condemned by Parliament.  
**Petition of Right** passed.  
 Laud made Bishop of London.  
 Wentworth made President of the Council of the North.  
 Buckingham murdered.
1629. Riot in Parliament ; Sir John Eliot imprisoned.

## II. Period of Government without a Parliament, 1629-1640.

1630. Peace with France and Spain.  
 Rich men obliged to purchase knighthood.
1632. Eliot dies in the Tower.  
 Wentworth made Lord Deputy of Ireland.
1633. Laud made Archbishop of Canterbury.
1634. Ship-money levied on seaport towns.
1635. Ship-money levied on inland towns.
1637. Hampden tried for refusal to pay ship-money.  
 Prynne, Bastwick and Burton condemned by Star Chamber.  
 New Liturgy resisted by the Scotch.
1638. Scotch take up arms against episcopacy.
1639. **First Bishops' war.**  
**Pacification of Berwick** refers dispute to General Assembly.

## III. Second Period of Government with Parliament, 1640-1642.

1640. Short Parliament called and dissolved without grant.  
 Second Bishop's War.  
 Scotch enter England ; advance to Ripon.  
 Treaty of Ripon : Scotch army to be paid by King till dispute settled.  
**November**, Long Parliament meets.  
 Lord Strafford impeached.
1641. Commons issue a commission to deface images, altars and monuments in churches.  
 Strafford executed.  
 Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission abolished.  
 King goes to Scotland.  
 Grand Remonstrance passed.  
 All the Bishops impeached.
1642. King tries to arrest the Five Members.  
 King leaves London.  
 Commons demand control of the militia.

## IV. Period of Civil War, 1642-1649.

- King sets up his standard at Nottingham.  
 Stage plays ordered to cease by Parliament.
1643. Parliament signs the Solemn League and Covenant with the Scotch.  
 Westminster Assembly convened to deal with religion.  
 Pym dies.
1644. King summons Parliament at Oxford.  
 Self-Denying Ordinance passed in Parliament.



- 1645. Laud executed.  
Parliamentary army remodelled.
- 1646. King gives himself up to the Scotch at Newark.
- 1647. King given up by the Scotch to the Parliament.  
Parliament tries to disband the army.  
Commissioner for the army takes the King to Newmarket.  
Army expels eleven leading members of Parliament.  
King flies from the care of the Army at Hampton Court to Isle of Wight.
- 1648. Royalist rising put down.  
Parliament offers terms to the King.  
Colonel Pride expels the Presbyterians from the House of Commons.  
Remaining members of Commons vote for the trial of the King.
- 1649. King brought before the 'High Court of Justice.'  
King beheaded.

### Charles II., 1649-1685.

#### I. The Commonwealth, 1649-1660.

- 1649. House of Lords abolished.  
Government by a 'single person' abolished.  
Council of State appointed.  
Cromwell goes to Ireland.  
Drogheda and Wexford stormed.
- 1650. King Charles II. in Scotland.  
Cromwell goes to Scotland.  
Battle of Dunbar won by Cromwell against Leslie.
- 1651. Battle of Worcester won by Cromwell against King Charles and Leslie.  
Charles escapes to France.  
Navigation Act passed to restrict importation of goods to English vessels.
- 1652. War against the Dutch.  
Victory of Blake over Tromp.
- 1653. Commons try to pass Perpetuation Bill.  
Cromwell expels members of the House by force.  
Council of State appointed by the army.  
The Instrument of Government published, making Cromwell Protector.
- 1654. A board of 'triers' appointed to examine characters of ministers of religion.  
Peace concluded with Holland.  
Discovery of Vowell's plot to murder Cromwell.
- 1655. Jamaica taken from Spain.  
Treaty made with France against Spain.
- 1656. Cromwell interferes to prevent the persecution of the Vaudois Protestants.
- 1657. Cromwell offered the title of King, but refuses.  
Spanish fleet beaten off Cadiz.  
New House of Lords assembled.

- 1658. Dunkirk taken from the Spaniards.  
Death of Cromwell (September 3).  
Richard Cromwell declared Protector.
- 1659. The army restores the 'Rump.'  
Richard Cromwell resigns.  
General Lambert turns out the Rump.
- 1660. General Monk marches from Scotland, restores the Rump, and  
declares for a free Parliament.  
The Rump dissolves itself.  
Convention Parliament meets, and invites the King to return.  
Charles enters London (May 29).

## II. Clarendon's Ministry, 1660-1667.

- 1660. King's revenue settled at £1,200,000.  
Army disbanded.
- 1661. Savoy Conference.
- 1662. King marries Katharine of Braganza.  
Dunkirk sold to the French.
- 1665. War declared with Holland.  
Dutch defeated off Lowestoft.  
Plague of London.
- 1666. Three days' indecisive battle with Dutch  
Victory off the Foreland over the Dutch.  
Fire of London.
- 1667. Dutch burn the ships in the Medway.  
Peace with the Dutch. Gain of New York.  
Impeachment and banishment of Clarendon.

## III. Cabal 'Ministry,' 1667-1673.

- 1668. Triple alliance of England, Holland and Sweden against France.
- 1670. Secret Treaty of Dover concluded between Louis XIV. and  
Charles.
- 1672. Exchequer refuses repayment of loans.  
Duke of York received into Church of Rome.  
Declaration of Indulgence issued.  
War renewed against Holland.  
Indecisive battle in Southwold Bay.
- 1673. Declaration of Indulgence withdrawn.  
Test Act breaks up Cabal.

## IV. Danby's Ministry, 1674-1679.

- 1674. Peace concluded with Holland.
- 1677. Shaftesbury sent to the Tower.  
Princess Mary married to William of Orange.
- 1678. Charles renews his secret treaty with Louis XIV.  
Opposition receives money from Louis XIV.  
'Popish Plot' invented by Titus Oates.  
Danby impeached for his share in the secret treaty.
- 1679. Danby sent to the Tower, in spite of the royal pardon.

**V. The King his own Minister, 1679-1685.**

- 1680. Petitions for and against a new Parliament sent to the King by  
Petitioners and Abhorrrers, or Whigs and Tories
- 1681. Grand Jury of London refuses to accept bill of high treason  
against Shaftesbury.
- 1682. Monmouth assumes the position of heir to the throne.  
Charters of London and other cities forfeited.  
Death of Shaftesbury in Holland.
- 1683. The Ryehouse Plot.  
Russell and Sidney executed for treason.
- 1685. Death of Charles

**James II., 1685-1689 (or 1701).**

- 1685. James promises to maintain existing government in Church and  
State.  
Titus Oates executed.  
Monmouth's insurrection : Defeat at Sedgmoor ; and execution.  
The ' Bloody Assizes ' punishes the rebels.
- 1686. Dispensing power affirmed by judges in the case of Sir Edward  
Hales.  
High Commission Court revived : suspends the Bishop of  
London.  
Standing army established at Hounslow Heath.  
Romanist made Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.
- 1687. First Declaration of Indulgence.
- 1688. Second Declaration of Indulgence.  
Seven Bishops petition against it : are tried and acquitted.  
Birth of a son to James.  
Seven leading men invite William of Orange to come to  
England.  
William of Orange lands at Torbay.  
James leaves the kingdom.
- 1689. Convention Parliament called.  
**Declaration of Right** accepted by William.  
William and Mary declared King and Queen.

## SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE STUART PARLIAMENTS.

**James I.****First Parliament, 1603-1610.**

- Passes severe laws against Roman Catholics.
- Complains of impositions.
- Rejects ' Great Contract,' Cecil's proposal that the King should  
give up impositions and feudal dues in exchange for £200,000 a  
year.

**Second Parliament, 1614.**

Quarrels with the King on questions of religion and impositions, and is dissolved without passing any measure, hence called 'Addled.'

**Third Parliament, 1621.**

Passes the **Protest** 'that the liberties and privileges of the Commons are the birthright of the subject.'

Impeaches Bacon.

**Fourth Parliament, 1624.**

Votes money for a maritime war against Spain.

Impeaches the Lord Treasurer, Middlesex.

**Charles I.****First Parliament, 1625.**

Grants tonnage and poundage for one year instead of for the King's life.

Censures the King's Chaplain, Montague.

**Second Parliament, 1626.**

Impeaches Buckingham.

Refuses supplies.

**Third Parliament, 1628.**

Passes **Petition of Right**.

1. That no taxes or loans should be levied except by Parliament.
2. That no man should be imprisoned without a cause being given.
3. That no soldiers should be billeted in private houses.
4. That no one should be tried by martial law.

Passes a '**Protestation**' that—

1. Any man who should bring in innovations in religion,
2. Any man who should pay or advise the payment of tonnage and poundage

should be accounted an enemy of the kingdom, and deserving of death.

**Fourth or 'Short' Parliament, 1640.**

Asks for redress of grievances before granting supplies

**Fifth or 'Long' Parliament, 1640-1660.**

Nov. Impeaches Strafford and Laud.

1641. Feb. Passes the Triennial Act, providing that no Parliament shall last more than three years; and that not more than three years must elapse between the dissolution of one and the assembly of another Parliament.

- Mar. Passes a Bill of Attainder against Strafford.  
 Passes a Bill to exclude Bishops from the House of Lords.
- May. Obtains a promise from the King that it should not be dissolved without its own consent.
- July. Abolishes the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts.  
 Abolishes ship-money and other extra-legal taxes.
- Nov. Passes the **Grand Remonstrance**, a 'showing again' of all the unpopular acts of the King.
- Dec. Impeaches all the Bishops.
1642. Mar. Demands the control of the militia.
- June. Sends **Nineteen Propositions** to the King, demanding the appointment of ministers and control of the army.
1643. Sept. Signs the Solemn League and Covenant.  
 Passes the **Self-Denying Ordinance**, excluding members of either House from command in the army.
1647. Pays the Scotch army, on condition of receiving the custody of the King.  
 Demands that all officers in the army should take the Covenant.
- May. Attempts to disband the army.  
 Submits to the expulsion of eleven leading members.
1648. Sept. Offers terms to the King.
- Dec. Is 'purged' of all but fifty-three members by Colonel Pride.  
 Votes the trial of the King.
1649. Abolishes the House of Lords.  
 Appoints a Council of State.  
 Passes an Act to constitute England a Commonwealth.
1651. Passes the **Navigation Act**, forbidding goods to be brought to England in any but English vessels.  
 Fixes November 3, 1654, as the day of its dissolution.
1652. Brings in **Perpetuation Bill** to allow all present members to keep their seats.
1653. April. Is expelled by Cromwell.

### Cromwell's Parliaments.

#### A. 'Barebone's' Parliament, 1653.

Composed of 139 persons named by the Council.

#### B. First Protectorate Parliament, 1654-1655.

Republican members question Cromwell's authority.  
 A hundred members excluded.

#### C. Second Protectorate Parliament, 1656-1658.

1657. Ninety members excluded at the outset.  
 Offers Cromwell the title of King, and presents  
 'The Humble Petition and Advice,' proposing—
1. Government to be carried on by the Protector and Council of State.
  2. Parliament to consist of two Houses.
  3. The Protector to name his successor.

- A new House of Lords called together.  
 1658. The Commons question the rights of the new House.  
 1659. May. The Long Parliament (the Rump) restored by the army.  
 Oct. Dismisses Lambert from command.  
 Turned out by Lambert.  
 Dec. Restored by Monk.  
 1660. Mar. Appoints a Convention and dissolves.  
**Convention Parliament, 1660.**  
 Settles the King's revenue.  
 Passes **Act of Indemnity and Oblivion**,  
 granting pardon to all except the regicides and five others

### First Parliament of Charles II., 1661-1679.

1661. Passes **Corporation Act**:  
 Ordering all in office to renounce the Covenant, and  
 communicate in the Church of England.  
 1662. Passes **Act of Uniformity**, enforcing:  
 1. Use of the Prayer-Book.  
 2. Episcopal ordination.  
 3. Renunciation of the Covenant.  
 4. Oath of Obedience.  
 1664. Repeals Triennial Act.  
 Passes **Conventicle Act**,  
 forbidding any public religious meeting except for  
 worship according to the rites of the Church of  
 England.  
 1665. Makes a grant of money to be used for the war only.  
 Passes **Five Mile Act**,  
 forbidding dissenting ministers and schoolmasters to live  
 within five miles of a corporate town.  
 1667. Impeaches Clarendon.  
 1671. Is prorogued for twenty-one months.  
 1673. Forces Charles to withdraw the Declaration of Indul-  
 gence.  
 Passes Test Act,  
 obliging all in office to communicate in the Church  
 of England and renounce the doctrine of Transub-  
 stantiation.  
 1675. Is prorogued for fifteen months.  
 1677. Votes money for the navy, to be spent by officers  
 appointed by Parliament.  
 1678. Petitions the King to dismiss the Duke of York.  
 Impeaches Danby.  
 1679. Is dissolved.

### Second Parliament of Charles II., 1679.

- Commons pass **Exclusion Bill**,  
 to prevent the Duke of York succeeding to the  
 throne.  
 Pass the **Habeas Corpus Act**,  
 to secure a speedy trial for any prisoner.



**Third Parliament, 1680.**

Commons pass **Exclusion Bill**.  
Lords reject it.

**Fourth Parliament, 1681.**

Meets at Oxford ; its members armed.  
Commons again bring in **Exclusion Bill**, but Parliament dissolved.

**James II.****First Parliament, 1685-1687.**

Votes a large revenue.  
Is prorogued for eighteen months and dissolved.

**EVENTS OF THE CIVIL WAR.**

1642. April. Gates of **Hull** shut to King.  
Oct. Battle of **Edgehill**—indecisive.  
Nov. King advances to **Brentford** : threatens London  
Retreats to Oxford.
1643. Feb. Negotiations at **Oxford**.  
June. Hampden defeated at **Chalgrove Field**.  
Fairfax defeated at **Atherton Moor**.  
July. Rupert takes **Bristol**.  
Sept. Essex raises siege of **Gloucester**.  
First Battle of **Newbury**—indecisive.
1644. Jan. Scotch alliance.  
Fairfax defeats Irish troops at **Nantwich**.  
June. King beats Essex at **Copredy Bridge**.  
July. Rupert defeated at **Marston Moor**.  
Aug. Essex, surrounded, surrenders at **Lostwithiel**.  
Oct. Second Battle of **Newbury**—indecisive.
1645. Feb. Negotiations at **Uxbridge**.  
April. Self-Denying Ordinance.  
May. Fairfax besieges **Oxford**.  
June. King defeated at **Naseby**.  
Sept. Rupert surrenders **Bristol**.
1646. June. **Oxford** surrenders.
1648. Royalists rise in Kent, Essex, Wales, Scotland.  
June. Fairfax storms **Maidstone**.  
Aug. „ „ **Colchester**.  
Cromwell „ **Pembroke Castle**.  
„ defeats Scotch at **Preston**.

## SOME LEADING MEN UNDER THE STUARTS.

**Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury**, was the son of Elizabeth's great minister, Lord Burghley, and served James as chief minister till his death in 1612. He was not a great statesman, but a good man of business: his one object was to provide James with money.

**Francis, Lord Bacon**, was the son of another of Elizabeth's ministers. He was a very great lawyer and statesman, and a still greater philosopher, but neither Elizabeth nor James ever liked him, and it was with great difficulty that he rose to be Lord Chancellor. From this position he was disgraced in 1621, when he was impeached on a charge of having taken bribes. He had taken money which was meant as a bribe, although he had never allowed it to alter his judgment; and he was really to blame for not having put a stop to the whole system of judges receiving money from suitors. Besides many great philosophical works in Latin, he wrote the 'Advancement of Learning' and 'Essays,' full of learning and wisdom.

**Sir Walter Raleigh**, one of the most famous of Elizabeth's courtiers, and a soldier, sailor, discoverer, poet, and historian, was imprisoned in the first year of James' reign for having taken part in a plot to put Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne, and remained in the Tower till 1616, when, longing to get out of prison, he persuaded James to allow him to fit out an expedition to South America in search of gold-mines. James gave him permission to go on condition that he would not attack Spaniards. As, however, all the coast of South America was in possession of the Spaniards, he could not help coming into collision with them; he burnt one of their towns and fought with their ships. On his return he was put to death, nominally on the old charge of the plot, but really because Spain complained of his conduct, and James was anxious to keep the peace with Spain.

**Frederick, Elector Palatine**, was the husband of Elizabeth, James' daughter, and Prince of the land on the banks of the Upper Rhine. He was a Protestant, and was invited by the Protestants of Bohemia to become their King instead of the Roman Catholic Ferdinand of Austria. Thus began a war between the Protestant and Roman Catholic powers of Europe, which lasted thirty years. Frederick was first defeated at Prague, and then driven out of his own dominions by Austrian and Spanish armies.

**William Prynne** was a Puritan lawyer who wrote a book called 'Histriomastix, or the Scourge for Players,' containing libels on the Queen Henrietta Maria. For this he was condemned in the Star Chamber to stand in the pillory and have his ears cut off. He was the most bitter opponent of Laud, and the leader in his impeachment, but was keenly disappointed to find that the Civil War, in overturning the monarchy, established a military despotism. He was violent in his writings against Cromwell, and was imprisoned for libel in 1650. No one was more active than Prynne in support of the Restoration, and he held office under the Crown till his death in 1669.

**John Hampden**, the intimate friend of Eliot, Pym, and Cromwell, was one of the ablest of the Parliamentary leaders, much respected by the others as a man of great prudence and subtle wisdom. When ship-money was levied on inland towns he refused to pay his assessment of 20s., so that the case might be tried. The judges decided against him, but his action marked him out as one of the leading men of his party. He was killed in the battle of Chalgrove Field.

**Sir Harry Vane**, son of a father of that name, was one of the most active promoters of the Bill of Attainder against Strafford. He went out to New England for a time as Governor of Massachusetts, where he was noted for his extreme republican opinions. He returned to England and fiercely opposed Cromwell's Government, and was put to death as a regicide at the Restoration.

**Prince Rupert** was the second son of Charles' sister Elizabeth. He was in England when the Civil War broke out, and played a brilliant part in it as a cavalry leader; but several times, notably at Edgehill and Naseby, he caused disaster by a too impetuous pursuit of the enemy when his presence was needed by the main body of the army. After Naseby he incurred Charles' displeasure by surrendering Bristol, and took to the sea, and was active in fighting against the fleet of the Commonwealth.

The **Earl of Essex** was the first Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary forces. He was not an extreme man, and wanted only to bring the King to terms, so did not show enough vigour in the war to please the more ardent spirits, and was obliged by the Self-Denying Ordinance to resign his command.

**Sir Thomas Fairfax** was a successful General in the Parliamentary army from the first, and was made General-in-Chief of the New Model army, with which in the same year he won the battle of Naseby, and soon brought the war to a close. He put down the royalist risings in Kent and Essex in 1648, but refused to sit in the 'Court of Justice,' to try the King or to take command of the Army against Charles II. in Scotland, and he joined Monk's army when it was marching to London to restore the King, whom he went to meet at the Hague. He lived in retirement till his death in 1671.

**Admiral Blake** served as a soldier in the Parliamentary army in the Civil War, but when the war with the Dutch broke out he was put in command of the fleet, and held his own against the great Dutch Admiral, Van Tromp, and later was brilliantly successful against the Spaniards in the West Indies.

The **Earl of Montrose** had taken part in the 'Bishops' Wars' against the King, but, seeing how far the opposition to the King was leading his party, he turned round and gathered a force of Highlanders, and fought for the King against the Duke of Argyle. In the years 1644 and 1645 he won brilliant victories at Tippermuir, Alford, and Kilsyth, but was overtaken by Leslie at Philiphaugh, with only a few troops, and defeated. He was raising forces to join Charles II. in 1651 when he was betrayed into the hands of Argyle, by whom he was hanged as a traitor.

**Lambert** was one of Cromwell's most trusted Generals, and one of those who most strongly opposed his taking the title of King. He refused to take the oath of allegiance to him, and was therefore dismissed from his command, but was recalled by Richard Cromwell at the desire of the army. He put down a royalist rising in Cheshire, and when the 'Rump' tried to dismiss him, he turned it out, and then marched against Monk, advancing from Scotland, but his men deserted him at the appeal of Fairfax on Marston Moor. He was sentenced to death after the Restoration, but was reprieved and kept in prison.

**Richard Cromwell**, eldest son of Oliver, who succeeded to the position of Protector, was a man of quiet tastes and gentle character, not inclined to Puritanism, and with no military talents. He at once came into collision with the army, which he could not control, and resigning his position in less than a year, lived quietly as a private person till 1672.

**George Monk** served in the beginning of the Civil War on the side of the King, but being taken prisoner by Fairfax at Nantwich, took service under the Parliament. He went to Scotland with Cromwell, and was left there in command by him. He next served with distinction in the fleet against the Dutch, and then returned to Scotland to command the forces and control disaffection there. He took the oath of allegiance to Richard Cromwell, but when the quarrel broke out between the 'Rump' and the army he marched to London to 'free' the Parliament. He kept his plans quite dark, brought about the election of a 'free Parliament,' and only at its bidding went to fetch the King. He was made Duke of Albemarle and Lord High Admiral and commanded the fleet in the Dutch War. He died in 1669.

**Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby**, became Charles II.'s minister after the fall of the Cabal. A strong Tory, he had two main objects in his policy, to maintain peace abroad and to strengthen the Church. With this end he brought about the marriage of Princess Mary with William of Orange. Charles, however, obliged him to carry out secret negotiations with Louis XIV., and his part in this having been made public by Louis, he was impeached by Parliament in 1678. He pleaded the King's pardon, which, however, was voted of no force against an impeachment. The trial, however, was not pressed, and Danby was released from prison in 1685. He was not in office under James, and was one of the seven who invited William of Orange to England, and first as Lord Carmarthen and then as Duke of Leeds, was one of his leading ministers.

**Sir Algernon Sidney** took part in the Civil War on the side of Parliament as a strong republican. He went into exile at the Reformation, but was pardoned by Charles, and returned to England, and was closely joined with Shaftesbury and the other Whigs in the struggle for the Exclusion Bill. He was implicated in the Rye House Plot by the witness of one of the conspirators, who turned King's evidence; and though there was no second witness against him, as is necessary on a charge of treason, he was put to death, some unpublished writings of his against government by a King being held to prove his guilt. He had undoubtedly been involved in treasonable correspondence with the King of France.

**Lord William Russell**, a friend of Sidney, and sharing his views, was also accused of a share in the Rye House Plot, and condemned on insufficient evidence. It is almost certain that, though he knew of the plot, he had refused to take part in it. His singularly blameless character and the devotion of his wife, who helped him in his defence, made his unjust sentence arouse great indignation against the Government.

**Lord Halifax** is known as the 'Trimmer,' a title in which he gloried as describing a politician who trims the ship of the State by always leaning to the side which is out of favour. He was on the side of the Opposition in Charles II.'s reign until the Exclusion Bill was brought in, and it was chiefly by his influence that it was rejected by the Lords. He turned to the side of the Whigs again when they were in danger from the Rye House Plot, and earnestly pleaded for Russell. James II. disliked him, and would not use his counsel, but he was active in trying to effect a compromise between James and William, until he found it impossible, when he became the spokesman of those who offered the crown to William and Mary, and held high office under William, who, however, never liked him.

**Sir William Temple** was the chief agent in bringing about the Triple Alliance, and strongly opposed to Charles' treaty with Louis XIV. When that policy was discredited Charles called Temple to his counsels as a minister whose policy was popular, but Temple refused to take a more important part than that of Ambassador to Holland. He was too timid and selfish to care for responsibility, and so retired from public life during the struggle and the Exclusion Bill and the reign of James II., and even though William pressed him to take office under him in quieter times, he steadily refused to leave his life of study.

**Godolphin**, 'Never in the way and never out of the way,' as Charles II. said of him, was a useful minister of Charles and James. By veering from one side to another, and making himself useful to both parties, he kept in office through all the stormy times of the end of Charles II.'s reign and that of James, consenting to all James' measures in favour of Roman Catholics, although after the Revolution he accepted office under William, and was greatly valued by him, as 'his calm, cool way suited the King's temper.'

## INDEX

- ABSALOM and Achitophel, 154  
 Advantage of King and Parliament, 83, 84  
 Agitators, 101  
 Agreement of the People, 88  
 Albemarle. *See* Monk  
 Anne Hyde, 157  
 Anne, Princess, 165  
 Appropriation of supplies, 149  
 Areopagitica, 125  
 Argyle, Duke of, 160  
 Arlington, 136  
 Arminianism, 78  
 Army, 84, 88, 89, 98, 101, 106, 108, 114, 115  
 Arran, Duke of, 7  
 Ashley. *See* under Shaftesbury  
 Astley, Sir Jacob, 124  
 Atherton Moor, 86  
 Attainder, 41  
 Autobiography (Clarendon's), 121  
  
 Bacon, 11, 12, 47, 186  
 Bath and Wells, Bishop of, 58, 169  
 Barebone's Parliament, 105  
 Bastwick, 63  
 Baxter, Richard, youth, 122 ; education, 123 ; confirmation, *ib.* ; becomes a schoolmaster, *ib.* ; curate at Kidderminster, 124 ; his attitude towards the Church, *ib.* ; chaplain to Parliamentary forces, *ib.* ; opinion of Cromwell, 127 ; hopes at the Restoration, *ib.* ; made King's chaplain, *ib.* ; refuses bishopric, *ib.* ; desire for comprehension, 128 ; ejected from living, *ib.* ; marriage, *ib.* ; imprisonment, *ib.* ; release, *ib.* ; opposes Declaration of Indulgence, *ib.* ; character, 129  
 Beard, Dr., 96  
 Biennial Parliaments, 89  
 Bishops' War, 81  
 Bishops attacked by mob, 51 ; protest, 52 ; impeached, 53  
 Bishops, seven, trial of, 163, 166, 172  
 Blake, 107, 187  
 Bouchier, Elizabeth, 96  
 Boyne, battle of, 165, 166.  
 Bradshaw, 107  
 Breda, Declaration of, 133  
 Breda, Treaty of, 120, 135  
 Brentford, 86  
 Bristol, 86, 88  
 Bristol, Bishop of, 171  
 Buchanan, George, 6  
 Buckingham, George Villiers, first Duke of, rise to favour, 19 ; character, *ib.* ; expedition to Spain, 21 ; change of policy, 22 ; popularity, *ib.* ; failure of foreign policy, 23 ; attacked by Parliament, 24 ; expedition to La Rochelle, *ib.* ; murder, 25  
 Buckingham, George Villiers, second Duke of, 136, 143  
 Burnet, Bishop, 140, 166  
 Burton, 63  
 Bye plot, 8



- Cabal, 136, 150  
 Cadiz, 23  
 Calvinism, 28, 32, 57, 60  
 Cambridge, 98  
 Carolina, 135  
 Carew, 70  
 Carisbrooke Castle, 89  
 Carlisle, Lady, 52  
 Case of the Army, 101  
 Catesby, Robert, 9  
 Catherine of Braganza, 134  
 Cecil, Robert, Earl of Salisbury,  
   11, 186  
 Chalgrove Field, battle of, 86  
 Chancellor, Lord, 12, 150, 162  
 Chancery, Court of, 146, 147  
 Character of Stuarts, 2; of Tudors,  
   1  
 Charles I., King, education, 76;  
   tastes, *ib.*; friendship for Buck-  
   ingham, *ib.*; journey to Spain,  
   *ib.*; marriage, *ib.*; circumstances  
   at his accession, 77; quarrel  
   with Parliament about Bucking-  
   ham, 78; taxation, *ib.*; religion,  
   *ib.*; government without a Parlia-  
   ment, 80; attempt to force  
   Prayer-Book on the Scotch, 81;  
   makes Pacification of Berwick,  
   *ib.*; calls Short Parliament, 82;  
   dissolves it, *ib.*; calls Long  
   Parliament, *ib.*; signs Strafford's  
   death warrant, *ib.*; concessions,  
   *ib.*; goes to Scotland, 83; hopes  
   from Scotland and Ireland, *ib.*;  
   reaction in his favour, *ib.*;  
   attempts to arrest five Members,  
   *ib.*; refuses to give up Militia,  
   *ib.*; shut out of Hull, *ib.*; sets  
   up his standard, *ib.*; success at  
   first, 84, 85; defeat at Naseby,  
   88; gives himself up to Scotch,  
   *ib.*; handed over to Parliament,  
   *ib.*; taken by army, *ib.*; at Hamp-  
   ton Court, *ib.*; escapes to Caris-  
   brooke, 89; offered terms by the  
   Scotch, 91; by Parliament, *ib.*;  
   brought to London, *ib.*; tried,  
   *ib.*; refuses to plead, *ib.*; put to  
   death, 92; his conception of the  
   Kingship, *ib.*; his character, 93;  
   letter to the Queen, *ib.*  
 Charles II., King, boyhood, 131;  
   escape to France, *ib.*; under evil  
   influence, *ib.*; proclaimed King,  
   *ib.*; received by the Scotch, *ib.*;  
   takes the Covenant, *ib.*; defeats  
   and escape, 132; life in exile,  
   133; restoration, *ib.*; desire for  
   toleration in religion, 134;  
   revenue, *ib.*; marriage, *ib.*; sale  
   of Dunkirk, *ib.*; interest in  
   colonies, 135; secret alliance  
   with France, 136; makes war  
   on Holland, *ib.*; issues Declara-  
   tion of Indulgence, 137; with-  
   draws it, *ib.*; peace with Hol-  
   land, *ib.*; struggle with Shaftes-  
   bury for succession of Duke of  
   York, 138; his skilful policy,  
   139; success, *ib.*; annuls charters  
   of towns, *ib.*; death, *ib.*; charac-  
   ter, *ib.*; ability, 140; Burnet's  
   estimate, *ib.*; interest in science,  
   142  
 Charters of corporations forfeited,  
   139  
 Chichester, Bishop of, 171  
 Chillingworth, 70  
 Chimney tax, 144  
 Christ Church, Dean of, 162  
 Churchill, 164  
 Church lands, 134  
 Civil war, 73, 83  
 Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl  
   of, education, 116; success as  
   lawyer, *ib.*; member of Long  
   Parliament, *ib.*; joins in attack  
   on Strafford, *ib.*; goes on to  
   King's side, *ib.*; disappointment  
   at King's want of confidence,  
   117; helps King in war, *ib.*; in  
   charge of Prince Charles, *ib.*; in  
   France during Commonwealth,  
   *ib.*; Lord Chancellor and chief  
   minister at Restoration, 118;  
   desire for comprehension, *ib.*;  
   severe measures against Dissen-  
   ters, 119; foreign policy opposed  
   by King, *ib.*; his unpopularity,  
   120; attacked by Commons, *ib.*;  
   deserted by King, 121; banished,  
   *ib.*; writes 'History,' *ib.*; charac-  
   ter, *ib.*

- Clarendon, Edward Hyde, second Earl of, 160, 162  
 Clarendon Code, 119  
 Clarendon Press, 121  
 Clifford, 136, 137  
 Colonies, 135, 148  
 Commons, House of, 11, 14, 15, 22, 29, 30, 37, 52, 72, 78  
 Commonwealth, 115  
 Comprehension, 118  
 Compton, Bishop, 162  
 Connaught, plantation of, 39  
 Constitution, 50, 105, 112  
 Conventicle Act, 119, 129  
 Convention Parliament, 133  
 Copredy Bridge, 86  
 Corporation Act, 119  
 Cosin, Bishop, 30  
 Council of the North, 38  
     of Officers, 105  
     of Fifteen, 152  
 Covenant, 131  
 Covenanters, 152, 159  
 Cowley, Abraham, lines of, 75  
 Cranfield, 12  
 Cromwell, Oliver, birth, 96 ;  
     education, *ib.* ; marriage, *ib.* ;  
     conversion, *ib.* ; Member of  
     Parliament, 1628, *ib.* ; and 1639,  
     98 ; appearance, *ib.* ; activity in  
     Long Parliament, *ib.* ; feeling  
     about Grand Remonstrance, *ib.* ;  
     trains troop of horse, *ib.* ; criti-  
     cism of Parliamentary army, *ib.* ;  
     service at Marston Moor, 99 ;  
     account of the battle, 100 ;  
     attacks Parliamentary Generals,  
     *ib.* ; passes Self-Denying Ordinance,  
     101 ; made Lieutenant-General,  
     *ib.* ; victory at Naseby, *ib.* ;  
     struggle with Parliament, *ib.* ;  
     negotiations with King, 102 ;  
     treatment of mutiny, *ib.* ;  
     puts down royalist risings in  
     Wales, *ib.* ; beats Scotch army  
     at Preston, *ib.* ; sits as one of  
     the King's judges, 103 ; puts  
     down royalists in Ireland, 104 ;  
     in Scotland, *ib.* ; at Worcester,  
     *ib.* ; turns out Long Parliament,  
     105 ; made Lord Protector, 106 ;  
     tries to govern with Parliament,  
     *ib.* ; foreign policy, 107 ; quarrels  
     with first Parliament, 109 ;  
     offered title of King, *ib.* ; quarrels  
     with second Parliament, 110 ;  
     death, *ib.* ; his ideal of govern-  
     ment, *ib.* ; methods, 111 ; treat-  
     ment of opponents, *ib.* ; religious  
     tolerance, *ib.* ; comparison with  
     Charles I., *ib.* ; self-deception,  
     *ib.* ; failure, 112 ; reaction against  
     his government, *ib.* ; Milton's  
     sonnets, *ib.* ; extract from his  
     last speech to Parliament, 113  
 Cromwell, Richard, 148, 188  
 Crown lands, 134  
  
 Danby, 138, 188  
 Darnley, 6  
 Darwen's stream, 112  
 Debate on Grand Remonstrance,  
     72  
 Declaration of Indulgence, 128,  
     129, 150, 163  
 Denbigh, Lord, 91  
 Diary, Laud's, 64  
 Digby, Sir Everard, 9  
 Dispensing power, 161, 162, 171-  
     173  
 Dissenters, 134, 163  
 Divine right of Kings, 48  
 Drogheda, 103  
 Dryden, 154  
 Dublin, 103  
 Dunbar, battle of, 104  
 Dunkirk, 107, 134  
 Dutch war, 107  
 Dutch colonies, 135  
  
 Eastern Association, 98  
 Ecclesiastical Commission, 162  
 Edgehill, battle of, 85  
 Edinburgh, 104  
 Education fostered by Wentworth,  
     39 ; by Laud, 80  
 Eliot, Sir John, Member of Parlia-  
     ment, 28 ; friendship with Buck-  
     ingham, *ib.* ; estrangement and  
     opposition, *ib.* ; leads his im-  
     peachment, 29 ; imprisonment,  
     *ib.* ; claims supremacy for the  
     Commons, *ib.* ; violence against

- the Speaker, 30; imprisonment, 32; 'Monarchy of Man,' *ib.*; death, 33; character, *ib.*; letter to Hampden, *ib.*  
 Elizabeth, Queen, 3, 8, 10, 15  
 Ely, Bishop of, 171  
 Engagement, the, 89  
 Enniskillen, 165  
 Epigram on Charles II., 143  
 Episcopacy, 54, 72, 124  
 Essex, Earl of, 84, 86, 100, 187  
 Established Church, 119  
 Exchequer stops payment, 150  
 Exclusion of Bishops, 50, 72  
 Exclusion Bill, 138, 152, 153  
 Exeter, 85  
 Fairfax, 86, 89, 101, 103, 187  
 Falkland, Lucius Carey, Viscount, education, 70; marriage, *ib.*; joins army in Holland, *ib.*; country life, *ib.*; literary friends, *ib.*; liberal views, 71; member of Long Parliament, *ib.*; on side of Opposition, *ib.*; changes to King's side, 72; love of liberty, *ib.*; opposed to Grand Remonstrance, *ib.*; Secretary of State, 73; distress as to war, *ib.*; character, 74; death, *ib.*; extract from speech, *ib.*; Cowley's verses, 75  
 Faversham, 165  
 Fawkes, Guido, 9  
 Felton, 25  
 Fifth Monarchy men, 107  
 Fire of London, 135  
 Fisher the Jesuit, 64  
 Five Members, attempted arrest of, 52  
 Five Mile Act, 119, 129  
 Forced loans, 37  
 Forcers of conscience, 129  
 Foreign policy, James I.'s, 13; Charles I.'s, 16; Cromwell's, 107; Charles II.'s, 119; Clarendon's, *ib.*  
 Frederick, Elector Palatine, 14, 22, 186  
 Freedom of thought, 60, 70  
 Frome, 174  
 Gainsborough, 86  
 Gloucester, Dean of, 57  
 Gloucester, siege of, 86  
 Godolphin, 189  
 Grand Jury, 153  
 Grand Remonstrance, 51, 72  
 Great Contract, 11  
 Great Seal, 165  
 Great Tew, 70  
 Gunpowder Plot, 9  
 Gwynne, Nell, 169  
 Habeas Corpus Act, 138  
 Hales the philosopher, 70  
 Hales, Sir Edward, 162  
 Halifax, Viscount, 152, 162, 189  
 Hamilton, Marquis of, 102  
 Hampden, John, 31, 32, 48, 72, 80, 86, 187  
 Hampton Court, 88  
 Hampton Court Conference, 10  
 Harrison, 110  
 Heads of Proposals, 101  
 Henrietta Maria, 76  
 Henry, Prince of Wales, 13, 17  
 Herbert, George, 62  
 High Commission Court, 50, 61  
 High Court of Justice, 91  
 History of the Rebellion, 121  
 'Histriomastix,' 63  
 Hobbes, 70  
 Holland, war with, 107, 120, 135, 136, 148, 150  
 Hollis, 66  
 Holmby House, 88  
 'Holy Living and Dying,' J. Taylor's, 127  
 Hooper, Bishop, 174  
 Hopton, Sir Ralph, 84  
 House of Lords, 40, 50, 63, 103, 110, 152, 153  
 Huguenots, 171  
 Hull, 83  
 Huntingdon, 96  
 Hyde. *See* Clarendon  
 Hyde, Anne, 157  
 Hyde, Lawrence, Earl of Rochester, 160, 162  
 Impeachment of Bacon, 12  
     of Middlesex, 23  
     of Buckingham, 24

Impeachment of Strafford, 40

of Laud, 63

of Clarendon, 120

of Danby, 138, 143

Impositions, 11

Incident, 83

Indemnity and Oblivion, Act of, 133

Independents, 101, 127

Instrument of Government, 106

Ireland, 40, 41, 83, 103

Ironsides, 100

James I., early life, 6; education, *ib.*; rule in Scotland, 7; difficulties with Presbyters, *ib.*; reception in England, 8; appearance, *ib.*; foreign policy, 14; relations with Parliament, 11, 14, 15; character, 16

James II., boyhood, 157; exile, *ib.*; Lord High Admiral, *ib.*; marriage with Anne Hyde, *ib.*; becomes Roman Catholic, *ib.*; commands in Dutch war, *ib.*; marriage with Mary of Modena, 159; attacked by Opposition, *ib.*; has to leave England, *ib.*; made High Commissioner for Scotland, *ib.*; first conciliates Presbyterians, *ib.*; change of policy, *ib.*; influence over Charles, 160; ascends throne, *ib.*; promise of good government, *ib.*; collects tonnage and poundage before the grant, *ib.*; nation well disposed, *ib.*; large revenue granted, *ib.*; dependence on Louis XIV., 161; sets up standing army, *ib.*; appoints Roman Catholic officers, *ib.*; dismisses Halifax, 162; removes judges, *ib.*; gains judicial sanction for dispensing power, *ib.*; puts Roman Catholics in office in the Universities, *ib.*; forms Ecclesiastical Commission Court, *ib.*; dismisses Rochester, *ib.*; and Clarendon, *ib.*; tries to win over Dissenters, 163; dissolves Parliament, *ib.*; commands declaration to be read

in churches, *ib.*; brings action for libel against seven Bishops, *ib.*; son born, 164; tries to conciliate nation, *ib.*; goes to meet William, *ib.*; deserted by army, *ib.*; flies from London, 165; brought back, *ib.*; escape to France, *ib.*; lodged at St. Germain's, *ib.*; fights in Ireland, *ib.*; last years, *ib.*; character, 166; Burnet's estimate, *ib.*

Jeffreys, Judge, 128, 161, 162

Jews, 111

Joslyn, 68

Judges, 29, 81, 111

Juxon, Bishop, 82, 91

Ken, Bishop, education, 168; at Winchester, 169; chaplain to Princess Mary, *ib.*; refusal to receive Nell Gwynne, *ib.*; Bishop of Bath and Wells, *ib.*; ministry to Charles II., *ib.*; and Monmouth, *ib.*; simplicity of life, *ib.*; gives help to Protestant refugees, 171; rebukes James II., *ib.*; joins with other Bishops in petition against Declaration of Indulgence, *ib.*; imprisoned, 172; tried, 173; acquitted, *ib.*; refuses oath to William, *ib.*; deprived of see, *ib.*; life at Longleat, 174; summoned before Council, *ib.*; death, *ib.*; writings, *ib.*; letter to Queen Mary, *ib.*

Kidderminster, 123, 127

King of Scots, 115

Lake, Bishop, 171

Lambert, General, 188

Lambeth, Archbishop's house at, 68

Lancashire, 125

La Rochelle, 24

Laud, Archbishop, birth, 57; education, *ib.*; Oxford, *ib.*; opposition to Calvinism, *ib.*; President of St. John's, *ib.*; Dean of Gloucester, *ib.*; Bishop of St. David's, 58; friendship for Buckingham, *ib.*; Bishop of Bath and Wells, *ib.*; Bishop of

- London, *ib.*; Archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.*; offered Cardinal's hat, *ib.*; in High Commission Court, 61; in Star Chamber, 62; impeached, 63; trial, *ib.*; charges, *ib.*; execution, 64; care of learning, *ib.*  
 Lauderdale, 136, 152  
 Lawlessness, 38, 61  
 Leicester, 84  
 Leslie, David, 104  
 Levellers, 102  
 Liberty, 71  
 Lilburne, 110  
 Linen trade, 39  
 Lloyd, Bishop, 171  
 Loan to Charles II., 144  
 Locke the philosopher, 148, 149  
 London, Bishop of, 58, 162  
 London supports Parliament, 52  
 Londonderry, 165  
 Longleat, 170  
 Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 38  
 Lords-Lieutenant of counties, 163  
 Lostwithiel, 86  
 Louis XIV. of France, 135, 137, 139, 150, 151, 160, 165, 169  
 Lowestoft, battle off, 120, 157  
 Ludlow Castle, 123  
  
 Magdalen College, 163  
 Magna Carta, 133  
 Mahometism, 111  
 Main plot, 8  
 Mainwaring, 78  
 Major-Generals, 109  
 Malignants, 110  
 Manchester, Earl of, 84, 100  
 Marston Moor, 99  
 Martin, Bishop, 123  
 Mary of Modena, 159  
 Mary Queen of Scots, 6  
 Mary, wife of William II. of Orange, 169  
 Mary, daughter of James II., 137, 152, 159  
 Masques: 'Comus' and 'Arcades,' 125  
 Massey, Dean of Christ Church, 162  
 Medal, the, 154  
 Medway, Dutch in the, 120, 135  
 Melville, Andrew, 7  
 Middlesex, Earl of, 24  
 Militia, 83  
 Millenary Petition, 10  
 Milton, John, sonnet on Cromwell, 112; on massacre in Piedmont, 113; lines from the 'Penseroso,' 125; education, *ib.*; love of beauty, *ib.*; his Puritanism, *ib.*; support of Cromwell, 126; retirement at Restoration, 127; on the Forcers of Conscience, 129  
 Ministerial responsibility, 143  
 Monk, 107, 118, 120, 133, 188  
 Morton, Earl of, 6, 7  
 Monmouth, 152, 153, 159, 161  
 Monopolies, 3  
 Montague, 78  
 Monteagle, Lord, 9  
 Montrose, Marquis of, 84, 187  
 Murray, Earl of, 6  
  
 Nantes, Revocation of Edict of, 169  
 Nantwich, 86  
 Naseby, 88, 101  
 Navigation Act, 107  
 Navy, 80, 106  
 Neile, Bishop, 30  
 Newark, 88  
 Newbury, first battle of, 86; second battle of, *ib.*  
 Newcastle, Earl of, 84, 86  
 Newmarket, 88  
 New model army, 101  
 New York, 135  
 No addresses, vote of, 102  
 Nobles, 83  
 Non-Jurors, 173  
 North Foreland, battle off, 120  
 Nottingham, 83  
 Noy, Attorney-General, 66  
  
 Oates, Titus, 138, 151  
 Olivarez, 25  
 Orange, William II., Prince of, 171  
     William III., Prince of, 137, 152, 164  
 Oxford, 86, 88, 121, 153

- Pacification of Berwick, 81  
 Papists, 107, 111  
 Paraphrase of the New Testament, 128  
 Parliament, Addled, 11  
     Short, 40, 48, 49, 80, 146  
     Long, 40, 49, 63, 71, 82, 91, 98, 101, 105, 133  
 Parliamentary government, 29, 146, 148  
 Penn, William, 162  
 Pepys, extract from diary of, 143  
 Persecution of Church, 92, 111  
     of Dissenters, 119, 129  
 Peterborough, Bishop of, 171  
 Petition of Right, 37, 47, 78  
 Petition and Advice, the Humble, 109, 114, 115  
 Piedmont, massacre in, 113  
 Piracy, 108  
 Plague, 135, 143, 145  
 Plot to murder Cromwell, 109  
 Popish Plot, 138, 151, 159, 160  
 Prayer-Book, 61, 88, 92, 119, 128  
 Prelatists, 107, 111  
 Prerogative, 31, 37, 47, 78  
 Presbyterianism, 7, 8, 54, 70, 88, 89, 101, 124, 129, 132  
 President of Magdalen, 163  
 Preston, battle of, 89, 102  
 Pride's Purge, 91  
 Privilege of Parliament, 15, 28, 49, 52  
 Proclamations, 49  
 Protector, Lord, 106, 111  
 Protest, the, 15  
 Protestation, the, 32  
 Prynne, William, 63, 64, 186  
 Puritans, 4, 5, 9, 10, 30, 58-60, 63, 83, 88, 118, 119, 124, 128, 129  
 Puritanism, 6, 111, 122, 125, 127  
 Pym, family, 47; education, *ib.*; Member for Tavistock, *ib.*; imprisoned for Protest, *ib.*; helps in impeachment of Buckingham, *ib.*; on Committee of Religion, 48; leader of Short Parliament, *ib.*; of Long Parliament, 49; impeaches Strafford, 50; revolutionary measures, 51; arrest attempted by King, 52; supported by the City, *ib.*; makes alliance with the Scotch, 54; death, *ib.*; extract from speech, 55  
 Queen Henrietta Maria, 76, 82, 117, 131  
 Quakers, 111, 162  
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 8, 13, 186  
 Reading, 57, 84  
 Reason of Church Government urged, etc., 125  
 Rebellion in Ireland, 83, 104  
 Religious grievances, 11, 29, 49  
 Restoration, the, 118, 127, 133, 148  
 Revenue, 10, 86, 106, 134, 160  
 Richelieu, 31  
 Rizzio, 6  
 Rochester, Lawrence Hyde, Earl of, 162  
 Roman Catholics, 8, 9, 14, 23, 119, 136-138, 150, 151, 161-163  
 Roman Church, 58, 63, 64, 95, 139, 157  
 Root and Branch Bill, 51  
 Roundway Down, 86  
 Royalists, 84, 89, 98, 110, 134  
 Royal Society, 142  
 Rupert, Prince, 84, 86, 120, 187  
 Russell, Lord, 151, 154, 189  
 Ruthven, Raid of, 7  
 Rye House Plot, 139, 188, 189  
 St. Andrews, Archbishop of, 152  
 St. Asaph, Bishop of, 171  
 St. George's Chapel, 92  
 St. Germans, 165  
 St. Ives, 96  
 St. John, Olive, 80  
 St. John's College, Oxford, 56, 64, 65  
 St. Paul's Cathedral, 169  
 Saints, the, 110  
 'Saints' Everlasting Rest,' 127  
 Salisbury, Robert Cecil, Earl of, 11  
 Salisbury Cathedral, window in, 61  
 Sancroft, Archbishop, 163  
 Savoy Conference, 128



Scotland, 1, 6, 7, 41, 63, 81, 83, 84, 103, 118, 131, 152, 159, 161  
 Scotch army, 54, 82, 86, 88, 89, 100, 124, 132  
 Sectaries, 124  
 Security Bill, 159  
 Seditious libel, 171  
 Selden, 70  
 Self-denying ordinance, 100  
 Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashby  
   Cooper, Earl of, position, 146; education, *ib.*; fights for King, *ib.*; changes sides, *ib.*; joins Parliament against army, *ib.*; member of 'Barebone's Parliament,' 147; member of Council of State, *ib.*; and of Cromwell's first Parliament, *ib.*; distrust of Cromwell, *ib.*; opposition in second Parliament, 148; joins in Restoration, *ib.*; made peer and Chancellor of Exchequer, *ib.*; opposes Clarendon code, *ib.*; interest in colonies, *ib.*; desire for toleration, *ib.*; belief in Parliament, *ib.*; member of Cabal, 150; supports Declaration of Indulgence, *ib.*; made Lord Chancellor, *ib.*; supports Test Act, *ib.*; leads opposition to King, 151; made President of Council, 152; tries to pass Exclusion Bill, *ib.*; puts forward Monmouth as heir, *ib.*; failure, 153; popularity in London, *ib.*; escape to Holland, 154; character, *ib.*; Dryden's lines on, 155  
 Ship Money, 48, 49, 80  
 Shropshire, state of the churches in, 123  
 Sidney, Sir Algernon, 151, 188  
 Society of Friends, 111  
 Somerset, Robert Carr, Earl of, 12  
 Southampton, 84  
 Southwold, battle of, 158  
 Sovereign power, 31  
 Spain, war with, 14, 107  
 Spanish match, 13, 25  
 Stafford, Lord, 151  
 Standard set up, 83  
 Star Chamber, Court of, 35, 50, 62

Stirling, 104  
 Stuart, Esmé, 7  
 Suckling, 70  
 Supremacy of Parliament, 110  
 Supreme power, 110  
 Synod, 128  
 Talbot, 'Lying Dick,' 162  
 Tax on Royalists, 109  
 Taxation, 10, 78, 106, 111  
 Taylor, Jeremy, 127  
 Temple, Sir William, 136, 189  
 Test Act, 137, 150, 158  
 Texel, battle off, 137  
 Thames, battle off, 120  
 Thirty Years' War, 14  
 'Thorough,' 39  
 Toleration, 70, 111, 119, 122, 134, 148  
 Tonnage and poundage, 78, 160  
 Torbay, 164  
 Tories, 153, 160  
 Tower, the, 42, 61  
 Transubstantiation, 137  
 Train bands of London, 51  
 Treaty of Ripon, 82  
   of Breda, 120, 135  
   of Dover, 136, 137, 150  
 Trelawney, Bishop, 172  
 Triennial Parliaments, 50  
 Triple Alliance, 136  
 Turenne, 157  
 Turner, Bishop, 172  
 Tyrconnel, Earl of, 162  
 University College, Oxford, 162  
 Uniformity, Act of, 119, 128  
 Usher's, Archbishop, Model, 128  
 Uxbridge, negotiations at, 86  
 Vane, Sir Henry the elder, 41  
   Sir Harry, 41, 105, 107, 187  
 Van Tromp, 107  
 Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, 163  
 Villiers. *See* Buckingham  
 Vaudois, 108  
 Waller, Sir William, 86  
 Wells, Bishop of Bath and, 169  
 Wentworth, Thomas, Earl of  
   Strafford, family, 34; education,

- ib.*; training in Star Chamber Court, *ib.*; opposition to Buckingham, *ib.*; made High Sheriff, 36; imprisoned for refusing loan, *ib.*; joins in Petition of Right, 37; breaks with Pym, *ib.*; President of the Council of the North, 38; Lord Deputy of Ireland, *ib.*; work for Ireland, 39; return to England, 40; impeachment, *ib.*; defence, 41; failure of impeachment, *ib.*; attainder, *ib.*; execution, 42; character, 43; letter to his son, *ib.*
- Westminster Assembly, 125  
Westminster Hall, 40
- Weston, Lord Treasurer, 80  
Wexford, 104  
Weymouth, Lord, 74  
Whigs, 153  
White, Bishop, 172  
Whitehall, 91, 93  
Whitelock, 109  
Williams, Bishop, 82  
Worcester, battle of, 104, 132  
Winchester, Bishop of, 164  
Wren, Sir Christopher, 169
- York, 85  
York, Duke of. *See* James II.
- Zuyder Zee, 120

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